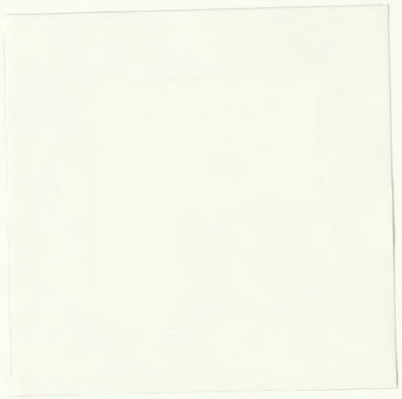


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OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME III

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RULES AND LIST OF MEMBERS

RULES

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, fac-similes, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of

the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer, the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

6. No money shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer or dealt with otherwise than by an order of Council, and a cheque signed by two members of Council and countersigned by a Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed : no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £10 10*s*., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of

the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

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THE SESSION OF 1882.

The First General Meeting of the year was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, February* 16, at 5 P.M., when the chair was taken by PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, C.B., Vice-President.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings with a statement of the results of Mr. Ramsay's recent expedition in Asia Minor so far as they were yet known. Extracts were read from Mr. Ramsay's paper on the subject which was to appear in the next number of the *Journal* (Vol. III. p. 1), and drawings were shewn of some of the principal objects discovered or examined. Of these the most remarkable were the Tomb of Midas and a lion's head which bore a marked resemblance to the Assyrian style, though Mr. Newton thought it would be rash to make any deduction from this till further details were to hand. Further knowledge of the monuments of the district and careful study of the inscriptions was also necessary before sound conclusions could be arrived at.

MR. CUST stated that Mr. Ramsay had communicated a paper to the Royal Asiatic Society in which the suggestion was thrown out that both religion and art had travelled from Assyria to Greece overland through Phrygia, and not, as was commonly supposed, by sea from Phoenicia. Mr. Hyde

Clarke added that he had seen some Phrygian inscriptions found by Mr. Ramsay which seemed to establish the existence of a Phrygian dialect in Greek.

PROFESSOR GARDNER then read parts of a paper by the Rev. E. L. Hicks, on the 'Characters' of Theophrastus (*Journal*, Vol. III. p. 128), illustrating, and offering emendations of, certain passages by the aid of Athenian inscriptions. The Chairman added some comments mostly in confirmation of Mr. Hicks' arguments, and Mr. Gennadius dwelt on the importance of the paper as opening up new ground, and shewing what light inscriptions might throw on old Greek life and literature.

DR. WALDSTEIN read a paper on a 'Figure of Hermes on a Silver Patera found at Bernay in France' (*Journal*, Vol. III. p. 96), and bearing a remarkable resemblance to the well known figure of Hermes on one of the drums from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. His contention was that the patera was probably Ephesian work—Ephesus being famous for its silversmiths—and may have been brought to Gaul and dedicated in a temple of Mercury by some Roman Governor. In this case it was clearly a reproduction of the figure in the temple. Mr. Newton thought the theory a probable one, and pointed out that though little ancient plate is extant, we have works in relief in terra-cotta which are unquestionably copies of ancient reliefs in metal. There was even a class of metal paterae with clay *emblemata* let in.

The Second General Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday*, *April* 20, at 5 P.M., MR. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Vice-President, in the chair.

MR. J. R. ANDERSON exhibited a very interesting series of terra-cottas from Tarentum, which seemed, as he thought, to illustrate the development from Phoenician to Greek art.

Though there was no record of a Phoenician element at Tarentum, traces of it were to be found in Laconia and in Sicily, places with which Tarentum was associated. Among other objects exhibited was a very complete series of Gorgon's heads. All the objects had been found recently in the ancient acropolis of the city. After some remarks had been made by Professor Gardner, a vote of thanks to Mr. Anderson was moved by the Chairman and carried unanimously.

PROFESSOR GARDNER read a paper on the 'Palaces of Homer' (*Journal*, Vol. III. p. 264), based on the poet's own descriptions, and shewing how remarkably his accuracy had been confirmed by archaeological discovery; and further that the Greek historical house is practically a development of the Homeric house. After discussion, in which Mr. Rutherford and others took part,

The HON. SECRETARY read part of a paper on 'Pindar' by Professor Jebb (*Journal*, Vol. III. p. 144).

The CHAIRMAN, in concluding the proceedings, congratulated the Society on the results of Mr. Ramsay's expedition, and stated that the Council hoped to establish a permanent Excavation Fund so as to be ready to take prompt advantage of any opportunity that might offer for assisting in the exploration of Hellenic countries.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

Was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday*, *June* 15, at 5 P.M., when the chair was taken by PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, C.B., Vice-President.

The HON. SEC. read the following Report on behalf of the Council:—

Council's Report, June 15, 1882.

The most important event in the history of the Society during the past year was the share it took in Mr. Ramsay's Phrygian Expedition last autumn. At Mr. Ramsay's suggestion a special fund was raised among members of the Society to enable the Council to send out an artist to accompany him in the journey he proposed to make in the interior of Phrygia. The money required, £150, was raised without difficulty. Mr. Arthur C. Blunt was selected as draughtsman, and the travellers left Smyrna for the interior early in October, returning in December. The route taken and the discoveries made may be gathered from the paper contributed by Mr. Ramsay to the number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* just issued to members. Some of the more important of Mr. Blunt's drawings are reproduced in the Plates. Others will be given with a subsequent memoir. On the whole the Society may fairly be congratulated on the result of its first venture in the field of exploration, and may feel encouraged to further efforts in the same direction. As was hinted in the Report of last year, the Society's power of forwarding archaeological research from its own resources depends entirely on the rate of increase in the number of subscribers, and the Council once more urge members to use every exertion to make the Society known among their friends with a view to securing candidates for election. Since the last Annual Meeting eighty-two members have been elected, against which gain, however, must be set the loss of twenty-three by death or resignation, so that at present the Society numbers 510, including Life Members. Of these several have announced their intention of resigning at the end of the year. It is clear,

therefore, that though the numbers are increasing it is at a slower rate than the best friends of the Society could wish.

In regard to the Phrygian Expedition it should be added that the Council thought fit at the close of it to make a grant of £50 to Mr. Ramsay in recognition of his services to the cause of archaeology.

In order to enable Mr. Ramsay to continue the researches he has so successfully commenced, a proposal has been made by an Oxford College to appoint Mr. Ramsay to an extraordinary Fellowship when his present studentship shall expire at the end of this year. The condition of his holding it, however, being that he shall continue his archaeological work, and the income of a Fellowship being in itself inadequate for such a purpose, the Council has decided to support an appeal to the public for a fund of £500 or more to enable Mr. Ramsay to fulfil the conditions attached to the Fellowship. It is proposed that the Fund thus raised should be administered by a Committee of the subscribers, so that no responsibility on this account should attach to the Society. The Council feel that the appeal is one which they are fully justified in supporting, and they gladly take this opportunity of recommending it to the special attention of Members of the Society. A circular on the subject will shortly be issued.

In regard to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* there is every reason to be satisfied alike with the quantity and quality of the papers contributed during the past year. If the same standard can be maintained, the Council feel that the success of this department of the Society's work is assured.

Among the objects mentioned in the Rules as fitting work for the Society, is the reproduction in facsimile of Greek MSS. Under this head the Council have much pleasure in announcing that arrangements are now being made for the reproduction by photography of the famous Laurentian Codex of Sophocles. It is estimated that the total cost would not exceed £600 for 100 copies, and it is proposed to invite subscriptions to these copies at £6 each. It is to be understood that unless the requisite number of subscribers can be found this work will not be undertaken. But the

Council confidently expect that among libraries and private individuals all over the world there will be no difficulty in raising the sum required. In any case the work is one which the Society should promote so far as possible. A circular will shortly be issued on the subject.

In the last Annual Report reference was made to certain books and periodicals which had been acquired by the Society. A Committee appointed during the past year went carefully into the question as to how far it was desirable for the Society to attempt to form a Library. Their Report, subsequently adopted by the Council, was to the effect that the formation of a Library should at present be restricted in the main to books presented or received in exchange for the *Journal*, though the purchase of special books might from time to time be sanctioned. The Committee further drew up Rules for the use of the Library. These Rules have been distributed to members with the new number of the *Journal*, and they will shew that due arrangements have been made to render the Society's books and periodicals available to members. Mr. Vaux has provisionally undertaken the office of Librarian, and applications from members should be made to him at 22, Albemarle Street, where the books are kept.

The financial statement now submitted shews that the income of the Society during the past year amounted, with the balance in hand, to £1,575 16*s.* 1*d.*, and the expenditure to £522 14*s.* 5*d.*, leaving a balance of £664 11*s.* 8*d.* over and above the £388 10*s.* of Life Subscriptions invested in Consols. There are, moreover, £139 13*s.* still due in unpaid subscriptions. It is hoped that these arrears may be sent in as soon as possible.

Looking back over the third year of the Society's existence, the Council feel that they can congratulate Members on its continued prosperity and on the accomplishment of really valuable work. At the same time constant energy is needed on the part not only of the Council but of all Members, to enable the Society to carry out satisfactorily in every department the objects for which it was originally created and which it has kept steadily in view.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES, Vol. II., Parts 1 & 2.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Lemercier & Co., for Plates				23	5	6
,, Dujardin, for Plates				10	12	0
,, Brockhaus' account				16	0	0
,, Clay & Co., for Printing 1,000 copies Vol. ii., Pt. 1	130	19	0			
,, Packing, Carriage and Postage to Members	28	6	2			
				159	5	2
,, Dickinson & Co., for Paper, Vol. ii., Pt. 1				17	5	2
,, Cooper & Co., for Engraving				10	14	0
,, Typo. Etching Co., for Electros				2	2	6
,, Pearson, for Engraving				1	1	0
,, Webb, for Drawing				11	8	0
,, Mrs. Bellot, for Drawing				4	4	0
,, Cooper, for Engraving				15	13	6
,, Clay & Co., for Printing Vol. ii., Pt. 2	94	13	5			
,, ,, Packing, Carriage and Postage to Members	18	15	3			
				113	8	8
,, Dickinson & Co., for Paper, Vol. ii., Pt. 2				23	0	0
,, Engraving Coin, per Pitt Press				2	2	0
,, Kell's account, for Lithographs				18	0	0
				£428	1	6

	£	s.	d.
By Sales of Journal, Vol. i., to June 30, 1881	44	11	2
,, Balance to General Statement	383	10	4
	£428	1	6

CASH STATEMENT JUNE 1ST, 1881, TO MAY 31ST, 1882.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance, as per Statement, May 31, 1881 .		872 18 1
,, Members' Yearly and Life Subscriptions :—		
1881	211 10 0	
1882	472 10 0	
		684 0 0
,, Library Subscriptions		18 18 0
		£1,575 16 1
,, Balance		664 11 8

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Balance of Journal account		383 10 4
,, Petty Cash	10 0 0	
,, Ditto	10 0 0	
		20 0 0
,, Stationery account to June 30		5 11 8
,, Rent of Rooms to September, 1881 . . .	12 10 0	
,, ,, ,, March, 1882	12 10 0	
		25 0 0
,, Sundry Printing, Rules, &c., per Clay . .		8 0 10
,, Commission, per Bank		0 2 2
,, Binding account, Hawes		4 7 9
,, Consols		388 10 0
,, Power of Attorney		0 5 0
,, Stationery account		2 11 0
,, Sundry Postage, Carriage, &c., Nov. 1881 to March, 1882		16 3 2
,, Binding account, Partridge		7 2 6
,, Grant to Mr. W. M. Ramsay		50 0 0
,, Balance		664 11 8
		£1,575 16 1

We have examined this account, and compared it with the vouchers, and find it to be correct. DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, } *Auditors.*
FREDERICK POLLOCK, }

The adoption of the Report was moved by MR. R. N. CUST, seconded by Professor L. CAMPBELL and carried.

The CHAIRMAN, then read out the names of the Officers and Council proposed for the ensuing year. The changes in the constitution of the body were as follows: Mr. Gennadius was made an Honorary Member of the Society, and Sir Charles Dilke nominated as a Vice-President in his stead. Of the Council Messrs. Oscar Browning, James Bryce, I. Bywater, E. A. Freeman, A. Goodwin, the Dean of Christchurch, the Bishop of Lincoln, Mr. Cotter Morison, and Mr. J. A. Symonds, retired by rotation. Of these Messrs. Browning, Bywater, Freeman, and Symonds offered themselves for re-election, while Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. Walter Leaf, Mr. Frederick Pollock, Mr. Pandeli Ralli, M.P., Mr. W. G. Rutherford, and Mr. E. B. Tylor had consented to be nominated to the remaining vacancies. Mr. Pollock's nomination to the Council rendered one of the auditorships vacant. Mr. J. B. Martin had kindly consented to take his place.

The List as submitted by the Council was confirmed by the meeting on the motion of Mr. J. T. Wood, seconded by Prof. Baldwin Brown.

The CHAIRMAN then submitted certain changes in the Rules of the Society which were recommended by the Council.

These were that Rule 7, which provided for the establishment of a Standing Committee, should be struck out (having been found to be unnecessary) and that in subsequent Rules the word 'Council' should take the place of the words Committee' or 'Standing Committee,' while Rules 13 and, 15, defining the relations between the Council and the Committee should also be struck out.

That to Rule 17 should be added a clause in reference to the meetings of the Society other than the Annual Meeting.

That, after Rule 28 should be inserted a Rule to the effect that all Members who had paid their subscriptions should be entitled to a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

And that after Rule 29 should be inserted a Rule providing

that Members wishing to withdraw from the Society must send in a formal resignation to the Secretary before March 1, or be held liable for the year's subscription.

MR. CUST pointed out that though the present changes were salutary, the Society ought to be guarded against sudden changes in the future by a provision that notice should be given of any intended change at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting. This was thought reasonable, and a final Rule was drawn up to that effect, while at the same time the period indicated in Rule 21 (old Rule 24) for notice of a motion by a private member was extended from a fortnight to three weeks.

MR. WOOD proposed as an amendment to the new Rule 28 that January 1 should be fixed instead of March 1 as the date before which retiring Members should send in their resignations. After some discussion this amendment was accepted, and then the adoption of the Rules *en bloc* as amended was moved by Mr. Talfourd Ely, seconded by Mr. Griffith, and carried *nem. con.*

A vote of thanks to the Auditors was moved by Mr. E. M. Thompson, who took the opportunity of dwelling on the importance of the proposed reproduction of the Laurentian Codex *i.e.* Codex of Sophocles, both as a convenience to scholars for purposes of reference, and also as to some extent neutralizing the possible loss of the original by fire. The vote was seconded by Mr. Rutherford and carried.

The CHAIRMAN then delivered an address on the Society's position and work, with special reference to the results of Mr. Ramsay's expedition. He hoped that when collateral evidence was published much light would be thrown upon unexplored parts of Asia Minor. In regard to the fund which it was proposed to raise to enable Mr. Ramsay to continue his researches, Mr. Newton pointed out that such expeditions were necessarily costly on account of the difficulties of travelling in a country like Asia Minor. Unless an expedition was properly equipped it was practically useless, for ill

health or even worse was sure to result to the explorer. He hoped that the English public would not allow Mr. Ramsay to go out ill provided. So staunch an explorer would reward the liberality of the public, and do credit to the Society. At the same time England should not be outdone by other nations in the work of discovery. The activity of other nations was sufficiently shown by the discoveries of the French at Delos, and the proposed exploration of Delphi by Greeks and French combined; by the remarkable discoveries of the Germans at Pergamon, and of the Americans at Assos. England alone had no such project in hand, and it was most desirable that the Society should do its utmost, both individually and corporally, to stimulate archaeological research.

After a few words from Mr. Stillman, in confirmation of what the Chairman had said as to Mr. Ramsay's zeal and ability, a vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by Mr. Percival, who took occasion to remark on Mr. Newton's signal services to the Society, which could hardly have gained its present position without his constant and active interest in its proceedings. This vote was seconded by Mr. J. B. Martin and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, after returning thanks, read a letter from the Bishop of Durham, President of the Society, expressing his great regret that his engagements prevented his presiding on the occasion. Mr. Newton added that his parting recommendation to the Society was that it should increase and multiply, for if its numbers were doubled, its sphere of work would be proportionately increased.

The Fourth General Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, October* 19, at 5 P.M., PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, C.B., in the chair.

PROFESSOR JEBB read some notes on the site of 'Troy based on a recent visit to the Troad' (*Journal* Vol. III. p. 185). In his opinion, shared by his companions, the remains did not

warrant the theory of seven successive cities assumed . 'Ilios.' Further, the town of Troy, as indicated in the *Ilia* could not be recognized in any remains found at Hissarlik. The poet's town of Troy was a creation of his fancy, influenced by handsome cities of his own time. Professor Jebb concluded with an appreciative tribute to Dr. Schliemann's energy and perseverance.

Mr. Ramsay pointed out the difficulty there was in establishing any connection between the antiquities found at Troy and elsewhere in Asia Minor. Mr. Pollock drew attention to the analogy of the Charlemagne romances which dealt with actual sites well known. An examination of these might show similar confusion of sites. It was not improbable that the poet of the *Iliad* was describing an actual city; by his own account he was speaking of times long past, but he used for his purpose details of the manners and things of his own time. The discussion was continued by the Chairman, Professor Jebb and others.

PROFESSOR SAYCE'S paper on 'Explorations in Aeolis' (*Journal*, Vol. III. p. 218), and MR. A. S. MURRAY'S on a 'Statuette of Herakles' (*Journal* Vol. III. p. 240), were taken as read in the absence of the writers.

MR. FARNELL read a paper on the 'Gigantomachia as treated in the Pergamene frieze' (*Journal* Vol. III. p. 301) from the two points of view of the literary tradition, and the conceptions of other ancient artists.

Meetings for 1883 *will be held at* 22, *Albemarle Street, on each of the following days at* 5 P.M.

Thursday, February 15.
Thursday, April 19.
Thursday, June 14. (Annual.)
Thursday, October 18.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next Meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from three to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

(1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.

(2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.

(3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

(1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.

(2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.

(3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

(4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.

(5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances:—

(1) Unbound books.

(2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.

(3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

The Library Committee.

PROF. PERCY GARDNER.
MR. ERNEST MYERS.
MR. GENNADIUS.
MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN (*Hon. Sec.*).

Librarian.—MR. W. S. W. VAUX, 22, *Albemarle Street, W.*

THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

SESSIONS of 1881 and 1882.

THE First Meeting of the Cambridge Branch of the Hellenic Society was held in Professor Colvin's Rooms, Trinity College, on *Tuesday, March* 29, 1881, at 4 p.m.

The Chair was taken by the Master of Trinity. The Minutes of the previous Preliminary Meeting were read and approved.

The Rules drawn up by Messrs. Colvin and Browning were submitted to the Meeting, amended, and finally approved.

The following were elected Members of the Committee by ballot: Messrs. Burn, Browning, Colvin, Jackson, Peile, Waldstein, Reid, Sandys, Lewis, Verrall, Jenkinson, Roberts.

The Master of Trinity was confirmed as Chairman, Professor Colvin was elected Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Browning, Secretary.

The order in which the Members of the Committee should retire in rotation was then settled by ballot. Messrs. Browning, Colvin, Jackson, and Reid, to retire in 1882, Messrs. Burn, Lewis, Peile, Roberts, in 1883, Messrs. Sandys, Waldstein, Verrall, and Jenkinson, in 1884.

The Meeting then adjourned.

Friday, November 25, 1881.—A Meeting of the Hellenic Society was held in Professor Colvin's Rooms, Professor Colvin in the chair, at 4·30 P.M. Mr. Edwards, of Trinity College, read a paper on 'Hermes,' especially on his attributes as Ἑρμῆς *νόμιος*.

A conversation followed.

Mr. Arthur Smith, of Trinity College, read a paper on the connection between the Hermes of Praxiteles and a Gem figured in the work of Passeri (Rome, 1781), with observations on the probable restoration of the right arm and head dress of the statue.

A conversation followed.

Dr. Waldstein read a paper containing additional arguments in support of his theory that the so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo is a copy of the statue of a pugilist by Pythagoras of Rhegium.

Professor Colvin read a paper on 'An Unpublished Diadumenos Gem.'

Friday, March 17, 1882.—The Terminal Meeting was held at 4·30 P.M. in Professor Colvin's Rooms, Professor Colvin in the chair. Dr. Waldstein read a paper on 'A Greek Vase in the Vaquonville Collection, Florence.'

Professor Colvin made some remarks on designs discovered on swords found at Mycenae by Dr. Schliemann.

Mr. S. S. Lewis read a paper by Sir P. Colquhoun, on 'The Greek Digamma.'

Mr. Verrall read a paper on 'Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 567, ed. Dindorf.'

Tuesday, December 5, 1882.—The Annual General Meeting was held in Professor Colvin's Rooms, Trinity College, at 4·30 P.M.

It was declared that four Members of the Council retired by rotation, Messrs. Browning, Colvin, Jackson, and Reid, but were capable of re-election. These Members were re-elected. Professor Colvin was re-elected Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Browning was re-elected Secretary. Mr. Ridgeway, of Caius

College, read a paper on Thucydides iii. 22, with reference to Aeneid vii. 609, Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 95.

A conversation followed on the practice of leaving one foot unshod.

Dr. Waldstein made some remarks on the cast of an ephèbus at Paris in the École des Beaux Arts resembling the Adorante at Berlin, and further on a head of a Niobe in the Louvre, hitherto unrecognised, and further on certain stylistic differences between Praxiteles and Scopas.

Mr. A. H. Smith read a paper on a bronze preserved in the Kircherian Museum at Rome, evidently belonging to the School of Pergamus.

STUDIES IN ASIA MINOR.

Part I.—The Rock Necropoleis of Phrygia.

This paper, and the plates by Mr. A. C. Blunt which accompany it, are the first-fruits of a journey in Phrygia, October 15 to November 27, 1881, for which Mr. Blunt was sent out specially by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. It would be both unbecoming and unnecessary for me to speak of the drawings which he contributes to this paper: but I may say that he learned photography in the few days that were at his disposal before leaving England specially for the work of the expedition, so that he has been enabled to verify at home, by means of photographs, the drawings that he made on the spot. In addition to this, we together compared most of his drawings with the original monuments, and spared no care to attain accuracy. It has been necessary for me to write in Athens without seeing the completed drawings: this has added much to the difficulty of the work, but the reader who finds the text correspond with the plates will thus have an additional proof of the accuracy of both.[1] I should, however, have found it quite impossible to write what I have here written without constant help from the drawings, the artistic taste and clear memory of one friend who accompanied us, to whom are due the

[1] I had either to work in this somewhat hurried way before starting on a new journey, or defer the whole subject for a year.

discovery of many monuments in the two necropoleis, and several of the drawings here published.

I must also express my obligation to Sir C. Wilson. It was in a journey in his company from Smyrna to Angora, Sivas, and Samsun, May 15 to July 14, 1881, that I gained the knowledge of the country and people which alone made the second journey possible for me; difficulties that had before seemed insurmountable diminished with experience. Moreover, I then learned where were the best districts for exploration, and we could thus pass by places which would have employed our time less profitably. On the second journey we were absent from Smyrna only forty-three days, and we may claim the credit of having used our time well. We traversed a wide district, and examined sites in the south, north, west, and south-west of Phrygia. We left untouched whatever had been already done by Dr. Hirschfeld in the south and M. Perrot in the north, and brought home drawings and photographs—

(1) Of twenty large and elaborate tombs and twelve other monuments of the pre-Hellenic period. Of these, three tombs and most of the other monuments are here given.

(2) Of a torso of Heracles, and a temple-gate of Hellenic art.

(3) Of various remains of the Graeco-Roman period.

Besides these we brought copies of more than a hundred inscriptions, of which half are still unedited, and a small number of interesting coins. It is not yet possible to speak of geographical and historical results. The topography of Phrygia is at such a stage, that the sites of four or five cities which we have been able to fix with perfect certainty will probably lead to the identification of various other places.

We are indebted to many English and Greek gentlemen resident in Smyrna and the Maeander Valley for advice: I applied to every one that knew the country, and always met with kindness and help.

The two chief rock necropoleis of ancient Phrygia lie among the mountains which overhang the south western corner of the wide Sangarius valley. The same stream flows near both, past Seid-el-Ghazi, the ancient Nacoleia, into the Sangarius.[1] The more northern necropolis has been well known since it was

[1] The river may possibly be the Sangarius itself.

discovered by Leake in the year 1820: it has been since visited by Texier, Steuart, Laborde, Barth, Mordtmann, and Perrot.[1] It extends over a wide stretch of country, as may be seen from the accompanying map, which has been drawn by Mr. Blunt from my ruder sketch. This map has no pretension to minute accuracy: in making it I have to depend solely on a few compass observations, and the estimate of distance furnished by the pace of a horse. But it is sufficiently accurate to save any future traveller much trouble, and to make the following description intelligible. The country may be described as a series of winding level valleys, varying in breadth between a hundred yards and a mile, and bounded by the perpendicular cliffs of rocky plateaux. Both the valleys and the higher plateaux are frequently covered with pine trees, and occasionally with dwarf oaks. The height above sea level is from 3,500 to 4,000 feet. In the cliffs that bound the valleys the tombs are cut; and the soft rock, a volcanic conglomerate, lends itself readily to the work. The chief groups of tombs are round the Midas plateau and along the western side of the valley between it and Doghanlu Kalessi, near Kumbet, near Yapuldak, and finally one very beautiful tomb near Bakshish. The centre of interest is the great 'written rock,' Yasili Kaya, on which one reads the name and title of King Midas: and as there is no modern name for this uninhabited district, I shall call it the Midas-necropolis.

With one or two slight exceptions to which I shall return on another occasion, there are no remains other than rock-cuttings in this district which can be attributed to the Hellenistic or to the Graeco-Roman period; and I believe it is safe to say that

[1] See Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 21; Steuart, *Anc. Remains of Lydia and Phrygia*; Texier, *Asie Mineure*; Laborde, *Voy. en Orient*; Barth, *Peterm. Geogr. Mittheil.* 1860; Mordtmann, *Münch. Sitzungsb.*, 1862; Perrot, *Voy. Archéol.* Steuart's brief description is accurate, but conveys little information to one who has not seen the place; his plates are singularly bad, his copies of the inscriptions very good. Texier's account in his smaller work is a useful guide book: his plates in the larger work are better than usual; the engraving of the Midas-tomb is almost completely accurate, the chief fault being about the pseudo-doorway. Laborde I have not seen. Barth describes a traveller's hasty visit; his account is good so far as it goes, but serviceable chiefly to travellers. Mordtmann gives a very good account of Nacoleia, and exceedingly bad copies of the Phrygian inscriptions. Perrot's account and his few illustrations are invaluable


N
W
E
S
KARA EUREN
KALE
KUMLET
TOMBS
TUMULUS
TOMB
BAKGHISH
RIVER FLOWING NORTH
ABOUT 2 HOURS
NORTH OF AVAZEEN
YAPULDACH
ANCIENT SITE AND TOMBS
BY TASHLIK
TO SEIDELGHAZI (NACOLEIA)
DOGANLU KALESSI
TO VILL OF BARDAKCHI 2 HOURS
YOURUK VILL
PISHMISH KALESSI
MIDAS CITY
TO CHOSEFU TASHIA KHAN
A TOMB OF MIDAS
B LARGE TOMB WITH GEOMETRICAL ORNAMENT NO INSCRIPTION
C ROCK SCULPTURES
D SMALL INSCRIBED TOMB
E LARGE TOMB WITH INSCRIPTIONS & GEOMETRICAL ORNAMENT
F DORIC TOMB ENGRAVED BY TEXIER
C.C. ANCIENT ROAD CUT IN THE ROCK

no important town of these times existed in connection with this necropolis. On the other hand there are a few small and unimportant rock-tombs of the Roman period, as is shown by the inscriptions, and an inscription on the rock near the Midas-tomb which belongs probably to the second century after Christ.[1] A town of the Roman period was discovered by Perrot some miles east of the Midas-tomb (see the accompanying map). It was evidently a station on the road from Nacoleia (Seid-el-Ghazi) to Prymnessus, Docimion, and Synnada. Its inhabitants would naturally count the Midas-necropolis as one of the chief 'sights' of their country, probably also as a holy place: to them we may attribute the remains of the Roman time. But on the whole it is I think quite certain that there is a distinct break in the history of this district, and a wide gap between the tombs of the Phrygian race and the work of the Christians. The latter were not improbably hermits and anchorites, who found in this secluded district a suitable home, and dedicated their lives to the task of cutting out churches in the rock. The native Phrygian cities continued to flourish under the Persian rule, when the Phrygian monarchy had disappeared. We may consider it probable that even so late as the Persian rule the fine plateau, on the edge of which is carved the Midas-tomb, was the site of the chief city of this part of Phrygia, as Gordium was of the eastern part of Phrygia, the later Galatia; but that the new foundations by which the successors of Alexander consolidated their empire and established centres of Hellenism in the country, gradually supplanted the older city. The city of the Midas-necropolis had once lain on the high-road of civilisation—the road from Pteria and the east to Sardis and the Aegean. But civilisation found new centres and new paths after the conquests of Alexander: henceforth this mountainous district lay aside from the naturally marked roads of commercial and political intercourse.

Though no city of the Roman period can be found near this necropolis, the habitations of the pre-Hellenic period are quite distinct. Small rock fortresses exist at Kumbet, at Yapuldak,

[1] It has been imperfectly published by Perrot (*Voy. Arch.* p. 147): Mordtmann (*Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1861) assigns it to the time of Julian, on the sole ground that an inscription in honour of Julian exists at Nacoleia, six hours distant, but the letters are far too finely cut for such a late period.

and on a rocky hill called Pishmish Kalessi, a mile east from the Midas-grave on the opposite side of the valley. Of these the best preserved is Pishmish Kalessi, which has been carefully described and mapped by Perrot. I need not therefore repeat the account he has given of its walls, gate, houses, cisterns, and secret entrance by a subterranean staircase, all hewn out of the solid rock. The others were of a similar character, but are now in a much more dilapidated condition. At Yapuldak the secret entrance is still visible. One can descend some little way by it, but the lower part is now blocked up.[1] But these little fortresses were of small importance in comparison with the city on the plateau, on one side of which is carved the Midas-tomb.

This plateau is as full of traces of human activity as the rocky hills of Athens. Cisterns, cut rocks, altars with flights of steps, and other cultus-symbols are scattered over a plateau of great extent. At one point, about 200 yards south of the Midas-tomb, the road ascends in a gentle curve from the valley beneath to the plateau above.[2] In ascending, there is on the right a perpendicular wall of rock on which a series of figures in low relief have been carved as if to represent a procession descending the road. The rocks have been much broken, and probably there were originally more figures than are now visible. First come two tall figures, about ten feet high, wrapped in long mantles, with one hand raised under the mantle and held in front of the face. Eight or ten yards on is a second group: a naked boy, the upper part of whose body has been broken away along with the rock on which it was carved, stands looking back to four figures which are coming down the slope. These four figures are in dress and attitude similar to the first two, but are only four feet high. A few yards further on is a figure which, as the accompanying sketch (Fig. 1) shows, resembles a Marsyas hung up to be flayed. Again a few yards beyond one finds a figure four feet high in similar garb and attitude to those of

[1] None of these can compare in length with the great staircase in the citadel of Amasia in Pontus, which is still quite perfect. It is not, like the Phrygian stairs, a secret entrance to the fortress, but runs down into the heart of the mountain to a spring of water.

[2] Around the foot of the plateau there is a great accumulation of earth forming a steep slope. The road of which I speak can of course be traced only after it reaches the edge of the rocks, and not up the slope beneath.

the first two groups. It is represented in the accompanying woodcut (Fig. 2), which may be taken as a sufficient picture of all the similar figures: the only difference being that the two tall figures below in the front of the procession are exceedingly thin in proportion to their height. The whole eight figures are therefore reproductions of one traditional type. None of them show any attempt to imitate nature, or to represent the varying



FIG. 1.—FIGURE OF PROCESSION.

outline or character of different human beings. One after another, they simply repeat the conventional forms which were considered a sufficient representation of the human figure. At the same time there is a certain grace and ease visible, especially in the line of the back.

A few yards further on, just before reaching the level of the

plateau, the breadth of the road increases, and this wider space has evidently been a place of worship. On the right-hand side a rock-altar projects from the wall of rock that bounds the road. The altar is of peculiar form, as may be seen from Plate XXI. B, drawn by Mr. Blunt. On the face of rock to the right or lower side of the altar, and evidently associated with it, is carved in low relief a figure, two feet four inches high, bearing a

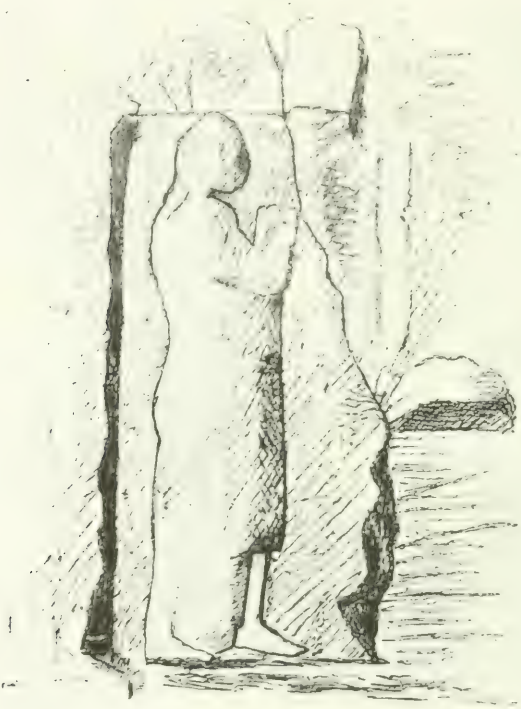


Fig. 2.—Figure of Procession.

caduceus in the left hand. An enlarged drawing is given in the accompanying woodcut (Fig. 3). He is placed in a slightly sunk panel, which is shaped irregularly to take in the figure and the accompanying symbols. His back is turned to the altar, and his face directed down the road. In front of him is represented what seems to be an altar. Over it are carved

symbols, a bird between two low pointed caps, which resemble in form the caps of the Dioscuri on coins. These symbols have not the character of the hieroglyphic inscriptions which are placed beside the figures in the rock-sculptures of Boghazkeui in Cappadocia, and beside the 'Niobe' in Lydia. The deity is represented in the attitude usual on archaic Attic stelae, such as those of Aristion or of Lyseas. He wears a



Fig. 3.—Figure of Hermes.

round close-fitting cap with a little horn or tail projecting behind. He is dressed in a short tunic. In front he holds up, grasped in the left hand, an object which is certainly a caduceus: one of its horns is worn away, but slight traces of it could still be seen on the stone. The outline of the lower part of the face has been obliterated; the slightest trace remained to

show that the eye had been indicated. The feet were apparently meant to be wearing shoes with upturned toes, similar to those worn by the natives at the present time. The same peculiarity occurs at Sparta in the lately discovered series of archaic reliefs, in Lycia on the Harpy tomb and in general on the early rock-sculptures of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. It is noteworthy that only the goddess on the Spartan reliefs has turned-up toes, whereas the god wears straight shoes.

Although the figure of the deity shows some resemblance in attitude and bearing to the archaic Attic grave-stelae, it shows no trace of the observation of nature, the evident desire to bring into expression the individual human character from beneath the traditional type, which distinguish so eminently the archaic Attic work and give promise of the style of the Attic art in its development. Here there is nothing indicated but the bare outline of the human figure. This is done with considerable ease and certainty. The hand which cut the outline knew exactly what was necessary, and was far removed from the necessity of making tentative efforts: but we have here rather hieratic symbolism than true art. If we compare this figure with that of the youthful god behind the great deity on the rocks of Pteria,[1] it is obvious that the Phrygians learned this type from the White Syrians of Cappadocia (Herod. I. 74, &c.: Nic. Dam. *fr.* 48). The dress, the attitude, the whole character of the work is identical. The head-dress differs in the two cases. The Phrygian figure wears a close-fitting round cap like that worn by the Hermes, who is represented on the coins of Aenus in Thrace as early as the fifth century.[2] The caduceus never occurs in the Cappadocian work, and it is very interesting to find this symbol used at such a remote period in the centre of Phrygia. It is therefore probable that this, like so many other religious ideas, came to Greece from Phrygia. Hermes-Cadmilos is regularly associated with the Phrygian Cybele in the most favourite hieratic representation of the goddess.[3]

The most interesting feature of this monument is the grave

[1] Perrot, Pls. 38 and 44.

[2] See *Br. Mus. Coin Catalogue of Thrace.* These sculptures beside the gate should be compared with those of Alyzia in Acarnania (Heuzey, *Acarnanie*, p. 407).

[3] See Conze, *Hermes-Cadmilos in Arch. Ztg.* 1880, p. 1.

immediately behind it and in evident connection with the altar and the figure of the god. We find in Phrygia many examples of this custom of placing on the front of the rock in which the grave is concealed some design of a religious or ornamental character. The whole cultus-place is therefore consecrated to the worship of the dead: at the very entrance to the city, almost in the gate, some hero of the Phrygian race was buried, and the city-door is hallowed by his worship.

This feature is also common to Greece with Phrygia: I need only refer to Curtius'[1] discussion of this point, and the list which he gives of similar graves in Greek cities. The nearer the gate, the more honourable, *i.e.* the more sacred, is the place of burial. I shall at a later stage have occasion to speak of a Phrygian house cut in the rock at Kumbet, the ground-plan of which with several rooms and passages can be distinctly traced. A flight of steps, fifteen feet in breadth, leads up to it: and just before entering on this flight of steps, one passes on the right a sort of shelf in the rock. Above and behind this shelf, in a similar position to our tomb by the city-gate, is a grave. The shelf was therefore a sort of altar, on which to lay offerings to the dead. It is important to observe that both these graves are on the right hand as one enters the gate. The right hand is the direction in which all lucky actions take place. In the oldest Aryan marriage ceremonial, the bridegroom led the bride three times round the sacrificial fire, having it always on the right hand.[2] The happy dead are led away by Hermes to the right:[3] compare the epigram of Hegesippus (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 545). So on the funeral vase of Myrrhina, Hermes leads her by the right hand. In the Aeneid, VI. 541, the path to Elysium branches to the right. The grave was of course on the left hand of those who came out of the house or of the city, but the essential idea of the gate is that it is the entrance into, not the means of egress from, the city or the house. Just before crossing the threshold one has on the right hand the grave of the tutelary hero—a happy omen. Those who come out of the

[1] *Gesch. des Wegebaus bei den Griechen*, p. 61.

[2] See Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, ch. 12; Marquardt, *Röm. Privatleben*, i. 49, 6; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* v. 177 *ff.*

[3] Benndorf, on the Vase of Myrrhina, in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* iv., p. 185.

city have already taken the decisive step before they reach the hero's grave.

We learn from Babrius (*Fab.* 30) that it was customary to place a statue of Hermes on graves, and it has been argued from this fact that the beautiful Hermes of Andros, which was certainly placed on a grave,[1] represented the deified dead man. However this may be in that particular case, the custom is certain at least for the time of Babrius, *i.e.* the second century before Christ; and we have here such an apt parallel in Phrygia as to justify us in counting this relief a proof that a similar custom existed in ancient Phrygia. We do not as yet know what was the name by which the Phrygian Hermes was styled. That word does not occur in the formation of Phrygian names, while it is a common element in Carian names, and it is probable that Hermes was known by another name in Phrygia.

At first I had thought that this plateau was a religious place of meeting, hallowed as the place of worship for the living and the home of the dead. The city which formed the social centre of the district would in that case have been one of the small rock-fortresses such as Pishmish Kalessi. But this idea had to be given up when I saw the traces of the city walls: unfortunately I did not observe them till the very end of our stay, and had no time to explore them completely.

Not one stone of the wall is now left; but it is easy to trace it along the edge of the plateau, by the marks cut to receive the lower blocks. In a similar way I have traced the line of the walls at Phocaea for about a mile, without finding a single stone. The walls were therefore built of squared blocks of stone, like those which were used at the north-west corner of Pishmish Kalessi where the natural rock fails (see Perrot, p. 144).

Within the city, about one hundred yards from the Hermes, is another rock-cut shrine, the appearance of which will be more readily understood from Mr. Blunt's drawings (Figs. 4, 5) than from a verbal description. Over an altar approached by a flight of steps is a hieratic representation of peculiar character. The curved lines which surround it, and terminate on each side in a round knot, are very like the hair of the sphinxes at Euyuk

[1] Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. 50; Körte, *Mitth. Ath.* iii. 102.

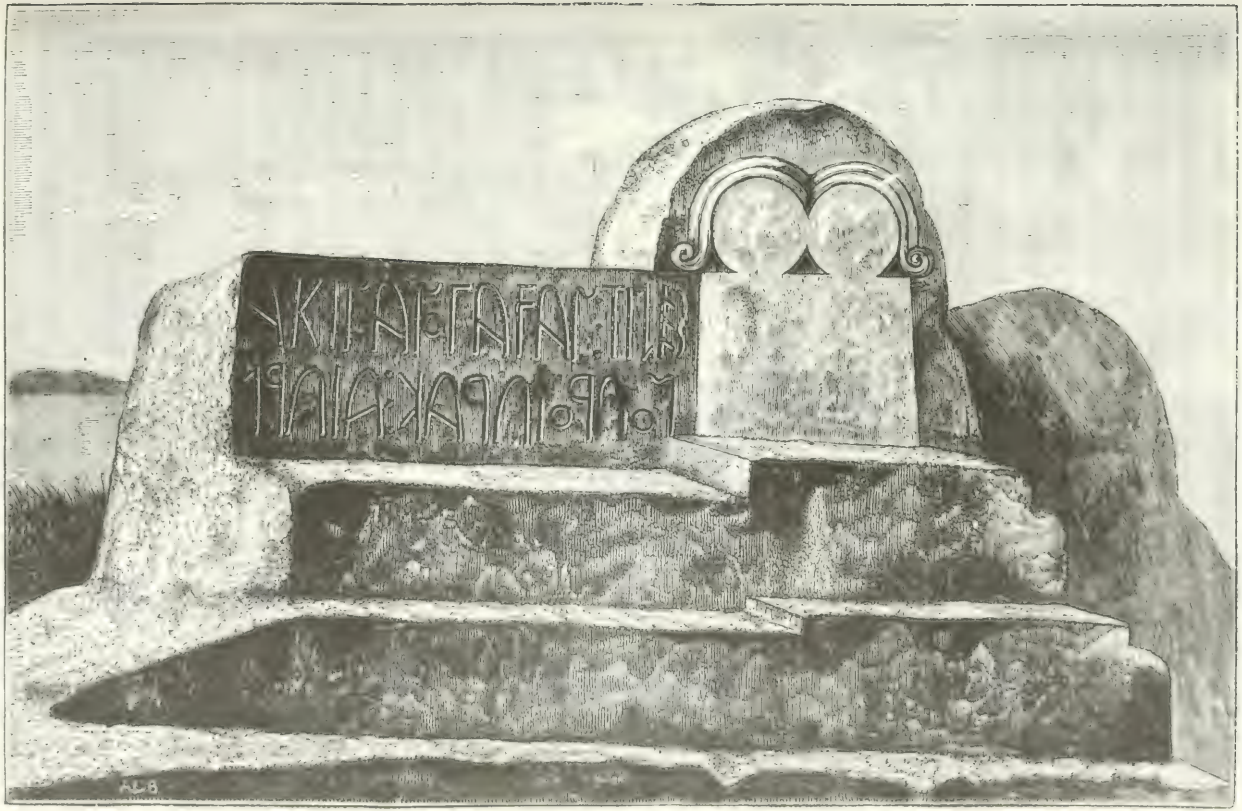


Fig. 4.—Rock-Altar.

(Perrot, Pls. 65 and 67), and the idea is therefore suggested that the intention has been to indicate a human face. On the rock walls that border the plateau, I observed two slightly outlined representations of the human head and shoulders. The sculptures in and around the city show that a much better representation of the human form was traditional in the local art, and it is therefore clear that the slightness of the indication in these three cases is intentional. In all three the purpose is probably the same; they are *apotropaia*, intended to protect the walls and the city from evil. A similar custom existed throughout Greece and Italy: and the two commonest protecting symbols are the gorgoneion and the fascinum (see Jahn, *üb. d. Bös. Blick*, in *Leipz. Verhandl.* 1855). The carving above

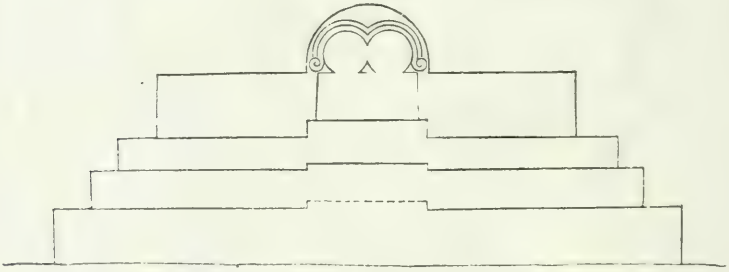


Fig. 5.—(Restoration.) Scale, 6 feet to the inch.

this Phrygian shrine may be compared with the stone with the two eyes in the city-wall at Thasos, which Curtius is probably right in considering a sort of abbreviation of the gorgoneion (Conze, *Reise auf d. Thrak. Inseln*, Pl. V.: Curtius, *Wappengebrauch*, p. 87). The gorgoneion was the most powerful agent, and therefore also the most effectual preventive, of evil. It occurs in a much more finished representation on numerous chamber-tombs in these Phrygian necropoleis: the tombs are all of the later period of Phrygian art, showing the influence of Greek architecture, but I have not been able to enter the chamber-tombs that probably belong to an earlier time. These gorgoneia are never hideous. They are well-formed, almost beautiful faces, surrounded by a broad fringe of curling hair, and having a knot of serpents beneath the chin. They resemble the later

Greek gorgoneia so much that at first sight I thought they must have been made under the influence of Greek sculpture at a very late period. But in every case where the symbol was well preserved, we could see distinctly a spear or arrow passing obliquely downward from right to left behind the head: in one case there were two arrows inclined at a slight angle to one another, with the barbs in opposite directions. This characteristic never occurs in the Greek type. Moreover, I have no doubt that Steuart was right in seeing a head of Medusa on the left side of the doorway to the beautiful tomb (Perrot, Pl. 7). This tomb certainly belongs to a period before Greek sculpture had affected Phrygian art. M. Perrot declares that the architecture of the tomb is semi-Greek, the sculpture oriental. In this case it probably had a symbolic sense as *apotropaion*, but in several later examples it is used simply as an ornament, and placed symmetrically on all the walls of the chamber. No example occurs of the early Greek type, the hideous face with gaping mouth and lolling tongue. It has been shown by Furtwängler (*Bronzef. aus Olymp.* p. 70*f*) and Milchhöfer (*Arch. Ztg.* 1881, p. 289) that the device was originated in Greece during the seventh century to represent griffins and other monsters with open mouth. Before that time, it is probable that the ugliness of the gorgoneion was due only to the rudeness of early art. Gorgo was an impersonation of the hurtful side of the divine nature, which might be provoked by any omission in the respect and observance due to the deity. It is always found that as religious feeling purifies itself, the old fetishistic beliefs persist, but become at the same time more vulgar in proportion as religion becomes more pure: the religious needs of the less enlightened, who cannot fully grasp the purer religion, lead them to supplement it by some grosser superstitions. The fear of offending the deity by want of due respect develops into the superstition of the Evil Eye, whose baneful influence is averted by some gross, hideous, or obscene symbol or action. The gorgoneion was developed in Greece under this influence, till art took it in hand and gave it a new meaning. In this Phrygian shrine, I believe we have an example of the primitive religious idea.

In ascending the winding road to the city gate, we remark in passing the Marsyas figure a flight of steps ascending from

the left. If we suppose that we are ascending this flight of steps from the ground beneath, we should have on our left hand an inscription engraved in a large oblong panel slightly sunk in the face of a rock. It is remarkable that this inscription is the same as one of those engraved on the Midas-tomb, except that one word is altered.[1] About fifteen yards further to the left, but on the same level as this inscription, there is a rock-shrine, similar in style to the one at the gate, though differing in details, and like it facing south-east. A flight of steps, forming three sides of a square, leads up to a little niche with an oblong altar beneath it. Above this altar and niche was carved an inscription in large letters: unfortunately only the lower half of twelve letters at the left hand remain; the rest of the inscription has disappeared along with the rock on which it was carved. Similarly many of the steps of the staircase we have spoken of have disappeared.

It is needless to enumerate the many rock-cuttings which exist over the plateau. Some of them will be fully described hereafter; the majority, such as cisterns and levelled surfaces in the rock, have nothing to distinguish them from similar works in such Greek cities as Athens or Phocaea. The perpendicular wall of rock which bounds this plateau on every side is full of tombs of varying age and style. Chief of these in beauty, size, and interest, whether for the historical associations to which it appeals, or for the peculiar character of its art, is the great sculptured rock, on which one reads the name and title of King Midas. The beauty and delicacy of the geometrical pattern, which resembles a combination of the maeander with rows of crosses, and the wonderful state of preservation in which the sharp clear angular pattern still is, make this rock in the lonely winding valley one of the most impressive sights one can imagine. Were there nothing else in Phrygia, this rock alone would be worth the journey.

The rock on which this sculptured tomb, if tomb it be, is made, may be described as a gigantic slab, eighty feet high, jutting out from the plateau. Almost the whole of one side of

[1] The position of this inscription suggests that it was intended to attract the eye of a person ascending the steps. On the interpretation of the Phrygian inscriptions, see an article which I hope to publish in *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1882.

this slab is occupied by the pattern, the other side is plain. The top of the slab is so narrow that when I climbed over it as far as was possible, I sat on the edge as on the back of a horse, and pushed myself along with my hands. In accordance with analogy, one would expect that if this monument were a sepulchre, the grave would be a sort of well, opening behind and above the sculptured front. Perrot has engraved (Plates 5 and 6) one tomb of this character: Steuart gives another, which I have seen, about two hours' distance from the Midas-tomb; we found many others in the great necropolis at Ayazeen, which I shall describe further on. One of these furnished an especially close analogy to the Midas-tomb, the ornamentation being very similar in character. In this latter case the actual grave is exposed, the covering slab having been in some way removed. About four feet behind the sculptured face, an oblong well, twelve or fifteen feet deep, has been cut down into the rock, and the body was lowered into it. Apparently some treasure-seekers had observed the joints of the stone that closed the well, and in removing it they broke the top part of the sculptured pediment. But it is certain that no such grave can exist behind the front of the Midas-tomb. The stone is a very soft conglomerate, and a deep well of this kind in the thin rock would split it like a wedge. If the monument is a real sepulchre, to which supposition all analogy points, either the actual grave must be entered in some different way, perhaps underground, or else the rock has been at one time thicker and larger, and the grave has acted like a wedge and split off a part of it.

The second great rock-necropolis of ancient Phrygia lies in and near a little village called Ayazeen, about twenty miles south of the Midas-necropolis, and fifteen miles north of Afium Kara Hissar. Ayazeen itself is situated beside a stream which flows down into the valley of Afium Kara Hissar, and thence past the ancient Philomelium into one of the lakes. In and around the village are hundreds of tombs, chiefly of the period when Phrygian art had begun to feel the influence of Greek architecture. This necropolis is far richer than the other in tombs of that time, and close to the village there are none of an earlier period. But about three miles from it towards the north is a very grand series of tombs of the older periods. These lie on the watershed between the Sangarius valley and

the valley of the Afium Kara Hissar river. In this neighbourhood we did not succeed in discovering any trace of a city whether of earlier or later time; nothing remained besides the carved rocks except a few Byzantine fragments. I can therefore not advance the slightest suggestion as to the city to which this scattered necropolis belonged.

Beside the village was a small artificial tumulus. The inhabitants said that an Englishman had once come past the village very many years ago, and had told them they would find much treasure in the mound. They had forthwith gone by night and dug deep into it, but had found nothing but stones and earth. One is surprised by the rarity of tumuli in Phrygia. Three at wide intervals in the Afium Kara Hissar valley, one between Kumbet and the Midas-tomb, another beside Nacoleia (Seid-el-Ghazi)—such is the complete list of those known to me. The reason must evidently be that it was so easy to cut the rock of the country, whereas in the wide Hermus valley artificial tumuli were more natural. At Smyrna the trachyte rock was far too hard to cut; there was no spare soil to make tumuli, and therefore they buried their dead in cairns. The rocks at Ayazeen are a soft chalk full of gritty particles: one can cut it easily with a knife. Hence the tombs are generally very much dilapidated, and numbers are hopelessly gone. The rocks to the north of the village where the archaic tombs are cut are better. They resemble the rocks of the Midas-necropolis, being easy to work and yet hard enough to wear well.

Many of the tombs in the older part of the necropolis were inaccessible to us: all that we could see was a little square doorway in the face of a perpendicular cliff, ten to twenty feet above the ground. Very few tombs of this style occur in the Midas-necropolis, and of these few one was certainly very early. It will be mentioned more in detail hereafter. I have seen several similar tombs in quite inaccessible situations in the border country between Galatia and Cappadocia. Near Ayazeen these openings are cut in a long perpendicular cliff, about forty feet high, which runs along the side of a hill; after passing about twenty of them, we reach a more interesting example. A cube of rock projects from the cliff, and in its front face a small doorway appears in the usual position twenty feet above

the ground. Over this door is carved an obelisk. On each side of the obelisk a large lion is carved in low relief, rampant, with its fore paw on the top of the door. Below each of the lions lies a little cub. The lion on the right hand is much better shaped than the other. Both are much overgrown with moss, but there was no appearance of an attempt to indicate muscles or other details, except eye and ear. The mouths of both gape wide, and the tongues project. The height from the present surface of the ground to the top of the rock is thirty-seven feet. (See Pl. XVII.)

The first thought that rises in one's mind on beholding this tomb is of course its resemblance to the famous gateway of Mycenae, with its two lions and the column between them. There are many points of difference between them. The column at Mycenae stands on what is probably an altar, that in Phrygia is placed directly on the doorway: at Mycenae there are no small lions beneath the large ones. But the chief difference lies in the style, so far as I can judge on this point from the published engravings. The lions of Mycenae are lank, thin, elongated animals, and more art has been shown in the representation of details. The heads also must have been rather small. The Phrygian lions are thick, with enormous heads. Striking as is the difference in style between the two monuments, it is, however, no greater than exists between the Phrygian tomb and another which has been carved in the same hillside, not one hundred yards away. This second tomb we shall describe in the next paragraph. On the other hand the resemblance in idea between the Phrygian tomb and the Mycenae gateway is complete. In the former the obelisk and the lions are placed over the entrance to the home of the dead, in the latter they guard the entrance to the abode of the living. The gateway is one of the holiest places in the city, and similarly the tomb is one of the chief sanctuaries of religion. We have already seen two cases where the gate and the tomb are united. It may therefore be assumed that the two monuments spring from a common religious idea, embodied in similar symbolism. At least eight tombs exist in the two Phrygian necropoleis, on which recurs the same device of the lions as guardians over the doorway. One of these has been already published, first by Steuart and afterwards by Perrot (Plate

VII.). None of the other examples known to me can compare in antiquity with the tomb which Mr. Blunt now publishes for the first time: but the complete series when published will form an instructive chapter in the history of Phrygian art.

About one hundred yards away is another tomb, which has probably been originally similar in character to the first, but has now fallen in. Enormous masses of rock, fifteen to twenty feet in length and of proportionate thickness, lie in a heap on the ground: some of them show fragments of the relief that adorned the outside of the tomb, others contain part of the walls of the grave-chamber. The most important of these fragments is one on which has been sculptured in high relief the head of a lion. (Pl. XVIII.) It measures from the nose to the back of the head seven and a half feet. The relief is of a peculiar character: although it is very high, about six inches, yet the surface is treated as if the relief were very low. There is only the slightest variation in the surface to indicate the different details. Round the outline, the edges are cut down at right angles to the ground of the stone. In this respect the treatment resembles closely that of the curious archaic relief from Sparta known as the Orestes and Electra (see the description, Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Plast.* i. p. 84). The marking of details is not confined to the surface of the head, but is continued on the perpendicular edge. This treatment marks the transition to another method of which examples occur in Asia Minor. If the lion's head, instead of being placed against a background were cut sheer off the rock on which it is carved, and the opposite side carved in the same style as the surface of the relief, we should then have a lion in the round, whose treatment is however entirely that of work in relief. We stand thus on the boundary line which, in the development of sculpture, separates carving in the round from simple relief work.

The mane is indicated both on the surface of the relief and on the perpendicular edge. On the surface it is indicated by a series of curls, similar to those on the forehead of the (so-called) Apollo of Thera. On the perpendicular edge it is marked by a series of parallel oblique lines. If the lion were converted into a figure in the round in the manner indicated above, the

marking on the back of the neck would then become the well-known "herring-bone pattern."



From the ear down the cheek, thence behind the chin and down the breast runs a slight ridge marked with the same herring-bone pattern. This must represent a line of hair, and probably marks the edge of the mane passing behind the ear and along the cheek. Then below the breast it marks the line of division of the hair. The ear is indicated by a triangular surface, well relieved from the general plane of the face. It is small in comparison with the size of the head, as a lion's ear naturally is. The eye is deeply cut, and the eyelid projects with a sharp perpendicular edge from the eyeball. The muscles of the cheek, and the lines on nose and cheek produced by the drawing back of the lips to lay bare the teeth, are all indicated with a distinctness and truth which shows genuine observation of nature, and which gives an uncommon expression of spirit and life to the whole in spite of the purely conventional rendering of each detail taken singly. The folds of skin and the muscles on the shoulder are rendered in the same way as on the cheek. The stone is broken away just at the point where the foreleg begins to project from the line of the body. Of the relief also a small part has been broken from the nose and mouth. It is remarkable that no teeth are indicated in the upper jaw, and that in the lower jaw a row of broad flat molars, quite unlike those of a carnivorous animal, is represented. We observed this peculiarity on the spot, and it is clearly given in a drawing in my hands, which was made from another point of view than that chosen by Mr. Blunt. The shoulder is in decidedly higher relief than the head, and a sharply and perpendicularly cut edge marks the distinction between the two. The effect on the drawing before me is remarkably like the restoration of the lions of the Mycenaean gateway, given by Blouet (*Peloponn.* ii. Pl. 71), where a similar line marks the insertion of the head into the shoulder.

The head of this lion is executed in a much finer style than

any known product of Cappadocian art, but yet shows an affinity with it in the representation of such details as the



Fig. 6.—Leg of Lion.
(The cut made from the leg in its present position is here inverted.)

cheek-muscles, which occur on one of the lions of Euyuk. The Phrygian lion of Kalabak, near Angora (photographed in Perrot,

Pl. 32), should also be compared with our monument. In both cases we see the oval lines marking the shoulder-muscles.

A line on the stone in front of the head was horizontal when the monument was complete, as is proved by the remains of the chamber on the inside of the fallen block. The lion, therefore, was either rampant or standing with its head drawn back. It is improbable that the subject of the relief on this tomb was

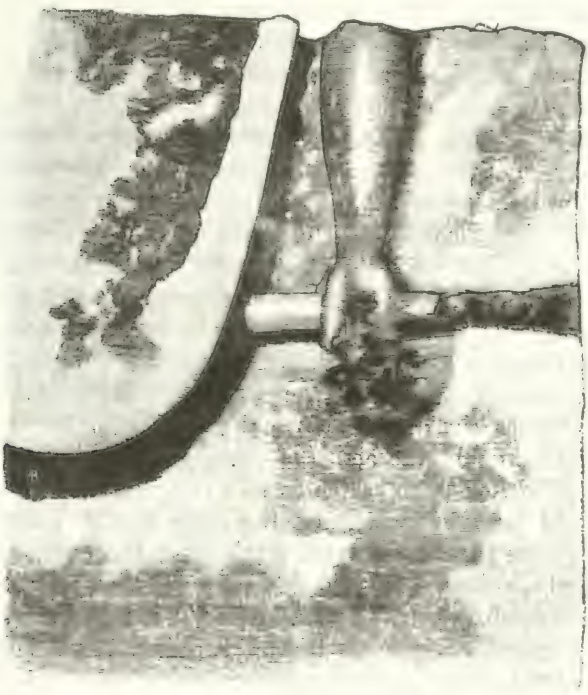


FIG. 7.—MAN'S ARM; Scale about 1 : 18.

like that of the other lion-tomb; in that case we should certainly have found more fragments of the two lions among the fallen blocks. On the woodcuts (Figs. 6 and 7), Mr. Blunt has given the only other pieces of the relief that we could see. One of them represents an inverted leg [1] of the lion, in a style as remarkable as the head; the other represents a man's arm,

[1] Length of leg from top to joint, 4 ft. 3 in.

holding some straight instrument which runs into a peculiar curved object. The subject of this relief seems therefore to have included a lion and a human figure: it is to be hoped that future examination will show whether the old oriental myth of Heracles killing the lion was represented.

The sepulchral chamber, on the front of which the lion was carved might probably have been restored with perfect certainty if we had been able to devote more time to the examination. It was, according to Mr. Blunt's measurement, twenty-four feet broad, and at least two columns supported the roof, forming a sort of aisle at each side of the chamber. Mr. Blunt has drawn on Pl. XIX. the back of the chamber and the single column which remains in position. The form of the pedestal and the general character of this column resemble the Mycenaean fragment drawn by Donaldson (*Suppl. Antiq. of Athens;* see also Blouet, *Expl. de Pélop.*, Pls. 70 and 71), and the remarkable capital shows a similar tendency to quaint fantastic ornament. I have no notes on the internal decoration of this tomb, and it happened that in this one case I did not compare the drawing with the original: the reader has therefore even a better opportunity of judging than I have from the tracing of his drawing that Mr. Blunt has kindly sent me.

It was no doubt the action of water that has destroyed this tomb. The lion-tomb, which is still complete, and the Midas-tomb will both be ruined by the same agency before many decades have passed. A large crack down the middle of each proves where the water is slowly forcing the rock asunder. One beautiful tomb, described by Leake (p. 22), is now almost utterly destroyed, and every rock in the two necropoleis shows the power of this disintegrating agent.

To the remarkable analogies with early Mycenaean work which have just been noticed, another may be added of a less striking but not less important character.[1] The contrast between the fine work of the Lion Gateway and of the Treasuries and the rudeness of the reliefs excavated by Dr. Schliemann has often been remarked. Those who consider the tombs discovered in his excavations to be late use the discrepancy as an argument in their favour; while others explain the sepulchral reliefs as

[1] Athenaeus mentions that the tumuli of Laconia were popularly called the graves τῶν μετὰ Πέλοπος Φρυγῶν.

the unskilful imitation by native workmen of the foreign art seen on the gateway (Overbeck, *Gesch.* p. 32). In Phrygia we are struck with a similar discrepancy. While the head of the broken lion will bear comparison with any product of archaic art for the truth and energy with which animal life is represented, and all the other reliefs we have mentioned show considerable training and skill, yet side by side with them we find numerous examples where animals are represented in the rudest possible style. These works do not show merely an early stage of archaic art, they are the clumsy attempts of unskilled workmen to imitate a type that they had seen. In this case also it might be considered that these rude animals were carved in later time after the model of the genuine archaic work. At first I hesitated between this view and another, but finally I came to the conclusion that all are ancient. When a visit to Athens had shown me the double analogy with Mycenae, this conclusion was still further strengthened. But we cannot apply Overbeck's theory in this case, and suppose that immigrants to Phrygia carved the finer works, which were imitated by native workmen, for Phrygian art is superior to that of the neighbouring countries: I should rather recognise the finer reliefs as the work of a trained and exclusive caste, and this caste must certainly have been the priests.

As an example of these ruder carvings, we give here (Pl. XX.) the reliefs on the two sides of a ram, much larger than life size, which Sir Charles Wilson and I found among the Turkish graves near the village of Kumbet. It was then lying on its side, and half imbedded in the earth. On arriving at the village in November our first visit was paid to the ram. With the help of two villagers, a pickaxe, and a long log of wood to serve as lever, we succeeded in setting the ram on his tail; but the character of the ground and the disposition of the grave-stones made it impossible to place him on his feet. The animal is represented in the simplest possible fashion, being only a rectangular block of stone, 4 feet 9 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches high, and 1 foot thick, with the head projecting at one corner. The art of the Phrygian sculptor had not yet attained power enough to set the animal free from the mass of stone; he is still imprisoned in it, and has the appearance of trying in vain to get free from his stone fetters. Except the projecting head

and neck, every detail is represented in relief on the sides of the block. The vertical edges are slightly carved to represent legs, and are a little relieved from the sides of the block: but no distinction is indicated where the body of the animal ends and the mass of stone between the four legs begins. The tail is the broad flat tail of the country sheep: this and the horns are the only distinctive marks that remain to indicate the kind of animal intended, as the rest of the head is hopelessly mutilated.

On the one flank of this animal are carved three objects, which are probably intended to represent long-horned goats; on the other side are two horsemen, and two birds in the air above the horses. The subject is doubtless a hunt; and similar scenes are represented on some of the Mycenaean tombstones. Close to the Midas-tomb is a grave, entered by a small door high up in a perpendicular rock. On the face of this rock are carved a number of horsemen very similar in style to those on the ram. Several of them are in an attitude like that of the horses on one of Dr. Schliemann's tombstones, which look as if they were trying to climb up a vertical line. But these reliefs are so rude and so void of character, that it is difficult to say much about them.

Near the two lion-tombs, is one which has been referred to above as showing a closer analogy with the Midas-tomb than any other work of Phrygian art. It was almost wholly buried when we found it, and the efforts of four workmen did not uncover it sufficiently to show its depth or the character of the ornamentation in the lower part; I made a drawing of all that was disclosed, and added a little at the foot which could be restored with certainty from the upper part. This drawing formed the model for Mr. Blunt's skilful pencil to work on in England, and the result is given on Plate XXI. A.[1]

The ornamentation of this tomb should be compared with that of two other Phrygian monuments. The first of these is a cave cut in the hillside, a little south of the rock-sculptures in the Midas city. The sides and roof of this cave are covered with a chess-board pattern of small squares, alternately sunk and in

[1] The squares are of 5½ inches. Accurate measurements of these ornamented tombs would show the relation of the unit of measurement to Greek and oriental standards. My impression is that two fundamental lengths are used, one about 5½ inches, the other about 8¼ inches, showing a ratio of 2 to 3.

relief. Such a pattern is occasionally used on early vases; and an example occurs on a small Cypriote vase now in my possession. The second monument is of course the Tomb of Midas, of which Texier's representation is sufficiently accurate for comparison: as it combines the maeander with rows of crosses, so our tomb combines the chess-board pattern with similar rows of crosses. This style of ornamentation has already often been counted an imitation of oriental carpets (see *e.g.* Reber,[1] *Kunstgesch.* p. 166). Curtius has shown how these carpets were the teachers of a new style of ornamentation for vases and other purposes in the west, and has seen even in the Lions of Mycenae an imitation of the symmetrically-placed animals that are sometimes worked into them (see *Wappengeb.* p. 99, and the modification of the theory in *Arch. Bronzerel. a. Olymp.* p. 23). It appears that such ornate hangings were used in the worship of Cybele and Attys (Foucart, *Assoc. Relig.* p. 196), and even in the cultus of Kora at Mantineia (Foucart, *Inscr. Méd. de Mantin.* p. 9). In the latter case, Curtius (*Arch. Bronz.* 22) understands that, when the priestess *ἐσκέπασεν τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια*, she hung in front of them an oriental carpet.[2] It is not fanciful to use this last custom in illustration of the carved front of the Phrygian tombs. The dead man too is a god, and his sanctuary is hidden from view behind the carpet of rock. It is well known that the religion of the mysteries was closely connected with the cultus of the dead.

Tombs of this character are apparently confined to Phrygia: no example has ever been found outside of this corner of the Sangarius Valley. It may therefore be considered an idea original to the Phrygians to use the oriental style of ornamentation in this way. The making of similar carpets is still an art native to some of the Phrygian cities; and the beauty and accuracy of the work on these tombs suggest that the art was already practised in the early period. The tombs of this style are fully worthy of the period that produced the head of the lion which has been described, and the resemblance of the pediment in the two tombs beside one another in this

[1] Reber's idea about the tent of nomadic Phrygians is quite untenable.

[2] Robes of similar pattern were worn (see Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. p. 572), and examples might be quoted from early Greek art: the peplos of Kora at Mantineia was of this character (Fouc. *l.c.*).

necropolis, suggests that they were made about the same time.

In these remarks frequent reference has been made to a large class of Phrygian tombs which show the influence of Greek art, and which have been well discussed by M. Perrot. Examples may be found in Perrot, Pl. 7, and Texier, Pls. 60-1. They belong to the period when Greek art was becoming known to the Phrygians, but had not yet completely established itself. None of them therefore can be much later than 300 B.C. On the other hand, Greek art could not begin to affect Phrygia before the time when the Mermnad kings had opened up Lydia to western influence, and had extended their kingdom to the Halys, in 585 B.C. Between the two limits we must place this class of tombs. The grave had always been a sanctuary, and it was now modelled after the Greek temple. In a late example (Texier, Pl. 60), the front is a correct Doric façade, whose columns have a strong entasis, while the echinus is slightly more curved than in the Parthenon capitals. Texier's plate is not trustworthy on these details.

It is easy to distinguish three periods in the ornamentation of the Phrygian tombs—

I. The period of sculpture in relief.

II. The period of geometrical ornamentation and of inscriptions.

III. The architectural period, under the influence of Greek art.

To these we may add—

IV. The Roman period.

V. The Christian period.

Of these, the fourth is of little interest, and the fifth, though represented by a large number of elaborate monuments, lies beyond the scope of this article. But any future expedition would do well to pay more attention to the Christian monuments than we could do in our hurried visit. Numberless churches, chapels, tombs, and at least one large wall-painting exist in the rocks side by side with the monuments of the old Phrygian religion. It is not improbable that these are the works of the hermits, whose religion was characterised by the same enthusiasm and *abandon* as the religion of Cybele and Attys: and it is certain that a survey of these monuments would add much to the history of early Christian architecture.

The order in which these periods of Phrygian art have been enumerated represents I believe the actual chronological succession in which they were developed, though of course they overlap one another. The sculptures in relief are manifestly modelled after the older oriental civilisation of Cappadocia. Pteria, the capital of the oriental monarchy east of the Halys, was in regular communication with the kingdoms of western Asia Minor: the wonderful sculptures of its rock-sanctuary and the great circumference of its massive walls mark it as a city of the Oriental type. Its art can be traced in a series of unmistakable examples over Galatia (see Perrot, *Voy. Arch. en Gal. &c.* Plates 10 and 32) and Phrygia to Mount Sipylus and the shores of the Aegean. The style of these monuments is everywhere the same, strongly marked and unmistakable: but in addition to the peculiar style, some of them are accompanied by inscriptions in the same hieroglyphs which can still be seen on the rocks of Pteria.[1]

But Phrygian art, though learned from Cappadocia, has a character of its own. The Phrygians had something of the Greek genius, and were not mere slavish imitators. In several cases we shall find them modifying the conventional type that had been handed over to them, in a way that shows genuine observation of nature and a clear conception of the object which they are trying to represent as they had seen it in nature.

In the second period Phrygian art is at its best. The geometrical designs on the faces of some tombs, forty to seventy feet in height, are cut with wonderful accuracy and skill: and the effect of each monument as a whole is very fine. The Phrygians had advanced beyond the hieratic art which they learned from Cappadocia, developed new forms, and employed oriental types in new combinations. Such a state of art bears witness to a period of power and prosperity. The remains of the city of the Midas-necropolis likewise prove that it was a large and important place, and we must consider that this period is that of the Phrygian empire spoken of by tradition and by semi-traditional history. The few facts that have come down to us show that the seventh century was a time of calamity for the

[1] Mr. Dennis's discovery of the hieroglyphic inscription beside the 'Niobe' was a very important step in our knowledge.

Phrygians. The Cimmerian invasion, which devastated Asia Minor, broke their power, and their king Midas, in the true oriental style, committed suicide, as his kingdom was destroyed in 696 (Eusebius) or 676 (Africanus). After this the Phrygians gradually fell under Lydian power, and finally in 585 their relation to the east was dissolved, and their connection with the west established by treaty. These facts point to the conclusion that the development of their highest art must belong to the eighth century rather than to the seventh; a civilisation might persist after it had been already attained, but could not be first originated, during a time of disaster and war. From a quite different point of view, I have reached the same conclusion in discussing the Phrygian alphabet (*Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* 1882).

In conclusion, I may add that the first result of our expedition has been to trace with some approach to definiteness the history of a city hitherto unknown, and of a civilisation which was as yet only guessed at. In the following part I shall attempt to describe this civilisation at a further point of its progress towards the Peloponnesus.

There remain several large monuments in this district, the entrance to which has still to be discovered. The wish expressed long ago by Perrot (*Voy. Archéol.* p. 148), that a scientific expedition should be sent to explore this part of Phrygia, must still be repeated more earnestly than before. The results which we have brought home with us are only the first-fruits, though they suffice to show how important a proper study of the Phrygian monuments is for the history of early Greek civilisation. The time at our disposal was too short for us to make any proper examination of the necropoleis. On my first visit in May we encamped for two nights beside the tomb of Midas, and one night at Kumbet, but this time was just enough to learn the geography of the widely scattered necropolis. In November we spent five nights at Kumbet and four at Ayazeen, making drawings and photographs of the various tombs, and exploring, as far as our time allowed, the country. We found the city of the former necropolis, that of the latter still remains to be discovered. Time is absolutely necessary for a proper exploration, and there is little doubt that much still remains in the mountainous tract that extends between Afium Kara Hissar, Beyad, Seid-el-Ghazi, Kutayah, and Altyntash. This

district is still practically unknown. No trade route traverses it, and only an expedition for scientific purposes would enter it. On the maps it is a blank, and only the lucky chance that Leake heard of the sculptured rock of Midas and diverged from the direct road to visit it, brought one corner of the district to the knowledge of the world. The scenery is very beautiful, and so far as I know it the character of the country is much the same throughout—winding fir-clad valleys bordered by perpendicular cliffs. The inhabitants are exceedingly few, and little can be learned from them about the antiquities of the district; they are both ignorant of what one wants to see, and very suspicious of the stranger. But a few days' residence and a little kindness and backshish makes them friendly and interested; and there is no danger to be apprehended from disorderly characters. The time of the year for an expedition would be to arrive not earlier than June 15th, and spend the summer and early autumn. The climate is very cold for a great part of the year. By the end of October the thermometer falls below the freezing point every evening, though we had bright, warm, sunny days in the middle of November. The spring is apparently always wet and stormy, and the east winds of Great Britain are not to be compared for biting bitter severity with the north winds of Asia Minor. But I could not imagine a more delightful way of spending the summer than an excursion in this part of Phrygia with a tent and some few appliances for examining properly the rock-tombs. The idea has been spread by various recent books that travel in Asia Minor is accompanied by terrible hardships, but such has not been my experience. With a little knowledge of the possibilities of the situation and a little prudence, a party travels with great comfort at an exceedingly moderate rate.

There are few countries where an expedition could do such useful work as in Phrygia, Galatia, and Cappadocia. In this border-land between Greek and Oriental civilisation, both Hellenists and Orientalists are equally interested: and I have already pointed out how much our knowledge of Christian antiquities would be increased by a properly equipped expedition. Why should not the three classes unite and send out a new expedition which should spend six months in these countries? We might guarantee, for example, that the goo-

graphy of ancient Cappadocia, now a *terra incognita*, would be laid down with perfect certainty; the material in the Peutinger, Antonine, and Jerusalem itineraries, is infinitely more rich for Cappadocia than for all the rest of Asia Minor put together. With the geography, history and art would be enriched, and it would then become possible to write for the first time a connected history of the development of Asia Minor. The march of the Ten Thousand, the route of Manlius, the journeys of St. Paul, are all equally in need of elucidation.[1] All that is required for this expedition is combination and some effort to begin with. England has often been the pioneer in opening up new fields of study and exploration. A great opportunity now presents itself, and it will not present itself long.

[1] In an article, "Trois Villes Phrygiennes," in the *Bullet. Corr. Hellen.*, I have gathered some new facts about the early spread of Christianity in Phrygia.

Part II.—Sipylos and Cybele.

"Und jenen Sängern zu Smyrna, Phokäa, Kyme, Neonteichos, Larissa lag immer der majestätische Sipylos vor Augen mit seinen Felsenhohen und Abgründen, mit seinen Quellen und kleinen Seen, mit der Erinnerung und Mahnung grosser Erdrevolutionen und Zerstörung reichen irdischen Segens und menschlichen Glückes. So ist denn hier das Bild eines Himmels auf Erden, eines zum Himmel strebenden Menschenglückes, aber auch das Bild eines überkühnen Hochmuthes und göttlichen Strafgerichtes vor allen lokal befestigt worden." These words of Stark (*Niobe*, p. 409) well describe the peculiar fascination that the splendid mountain still exercises on one that lives under its shadow, and the ever-growing interest with which one returns to its past history. The least satisfactory part of Stark's excellent work is precisely that which treats of Niobe in Sipylos (98-109 and 403-46). It suffers from the lack of trustworthy information about the district.[1] Even after he had himself had the opportunity of seeing for a few hours the so-called "Niobe," and had recognised in it *ein Gebilde alter heimischer, in den phrygischen Bildwerken der Göttermutter vielfach sich später aussprechenden Kunst und eines tiefen Naturgefühls*, his rationalising treatment of the myth (*Nach d. Gr. Orient*, pp. 231-54) is very unsatisfactory. We are to believe that a powerful empire under a king Tantalus existed here, that his capital was destroyed by an earthquake, and his empire ruined by an Assyrian invasion (Stark's account seems to waver between the two and finally to adopt both explanations), that his son went down to the seaport of the empire and sailed away to find an empire and a bride ready for him in Greece. Though a poetic and fervid imagination, stimulated by the charm of the wonderful Sipylos, has made Stark's account a seductive picture, yet it

[1] In the almost complete ignorance of Asia Minor, which has up to the present time prevailed, scholars were forced to begin from Greece, and attempt to define the legends and history of Asia Minor by its relations to the early history of Greece. It is now certain that as Asia Minor becomes more known, the procedure will be reversed, and its antiquities form a point of departure for the determination of early Greek history.

requires only a statement of the theory in its bare outlines to show how uncritical it is. It will not do to take the myth in its latest form, cut out the gods and the miraculous element, and fancy that we have then got history: nowhere but in the fairy-land of Sipylos would such a proceeding have commended itself to Stark's intellect. In the older forms of the myth we hear nothing of an empire and ships and sudden ruin; Pelops goes over the sea in a chariot; Tantalus deceives the gods and is punished in Tartaros; Niobe weeps for her twelve children slain by the cruel shafts of the sun-god, but is comforted again. Such are the legends we have to deal with. We must take another path, and we shall begin by trying to understand exactly the actual remains in the mountain, the civilisation to which they bear witness, and their relation to the neighbouring races of Asia Minor.

It would of course be absurd to suppose that every popular tale and every poetic fancy which has grown around the heroic names and the religion of Sipylos, should find material counterpart in the actual features of the mountain. The tales of Tantalus and Niobe had run through a long development before the earliest reference to them which we possess was written, and the moralised form in which the great tragedians had set forth the legends reacted on the local tradition. There are two extremes to avoid. On the one hand, we shall not expect to find here the table on which Pelops was served up to the gods, nor the throne on which he sat; nor shall we expect that a city, Tantalis, situated on the highest peak of Sipylos, *πατρὶς θεῶν*, was by an earthquake swallowed up in a lake which suddenly appeared there. On the other hand, *τὰ περὶ Σίπυλον μῦθον οὐ δεῖ τίθεσθαι* (Str. p. 590).

In the hieratic legend of the destruction by Apollo of Niobe's children Aeschylus had seen a picture of the instability of earthly bliss. The earthquakes to which the country is subject, the precipitous character of the mountain, and the tremendous ravines in it, co-operated to produce a rationalistic background to the legend. The sudden fall from the pinnacle of human power and happiness to destruction, what was that to a thinking Greek mind but a reflection of the sudden ruin of a great and powerful city by a terrible physical convulsion? It is characteristic of the euhemerising stage of thought that another

explanation, ruin through a foreign invasion, was advanced alongside of the former, without any inconsistency being perceived. But it is quite certain that the legend was not originally a moral one, and that in trying to disengage the historical and religious elements that underlie it, we must set aside the views of a later period. Such legends give in their own way a faithful picture of the early life, provided we can attain to the proper point of view: like all pictures taken direct from nature they contain implicit meanings of which the original artists had no conception, and which later thinkers like Aeschylus have developed, but we must beware of attributing to an early period what belongs to a later stage of thought. Too little is known of the early history and the local legends of Sipylos, and of the cultus of Magnesia and Smyrna, but in spite of these drawbacks there are few cases where the growth of a legend from the original religious and historical surroundings to the perfect form in tragedy and sculpture can be so fully traced as in the myth which was carried from Sipylos to the Peloponnesus and attained its final development at the hands of Aeschylus and Scopas.

On the northern slope of Sipylos, about four miles east of Magnesia, are many traces of a very ancient city,—sepulchral tumuli, rock-cut tombs, and a small acropolis perched high on an almost inaccessible peak. On both sides of it are the sanctuaries of its religion: on the west a rock-cut image of Cybele, on the east the hot springs and sacred cave of a god called by the Greeks Apollo.[1] The old citadel is placed, not away in the centre of trackless mountains on the peak of Sipylos, but on a strong point of the mountain overlooking the plain. Sipylos rises in an almost perpendicular wall of limestone to a height of 2,000 feet above the level of the Hermus valley. Ascending this mountain wall at the few places where it can be scaled, one finds a deep-lying glen, beyond which is a still higher range of mountains. At one point this front wall of rock has been cleft as if by some terrible convulsion of nature, right down

[1] Most of the misapprehensions that prevail about the district result from an examination of part of the district and a neglect of the rest. It is exceedingly hard work to climb about the rugged mountains, and a proper examination requires a long time. I believe that I have seen more of the district than any one but the woodcutters, but there are still many places I have not examined.

to the level of the Hermus valley. A narrow ravine about 100 feet broad, with perfectly perpendicular sides, pierces right into the heart of the mountain, and through it comes a little stream from the plain behind. The torrent has worn for itself this path through the limestone rock; but the ravine, which is one of the most remarkable I have ever seen, and possessed of a magnificent echo, would naturally be considered by the ancients to be the result of a great earthquake, such as are common in this district. Modern travellers also, coming with the preconceived thought in their minds, have sometimes been led to the same conclusion; but I think that a more careful examination would have convinced them that the ravine is merely water-worn.[1] On the western edge of this ravine, half-way up the mountain-wall of Sipylos, is a curious crag which stands out from the mass of the mountain. On one side it is possible from its summit to drop a stone 900 feet into the ravine; on all other sides it rises with perpendicular face 100 feet from the mountain. A little cleft in the rock slopes up the western side: it is overgrown with bushes, and a cliff, which at the first glance would seem inaccessible, can thus be easily climbed. At the foot of the cleft there was at one time a wall made of rough masses of stone, evidently a defence for the only weak point of the rock: access was no doubt afforded to the inhabitants by a staircase which has now disappeared. On the top are numerous rock-cuttings, seven or eight large bell-shaped cisterns, twenty or thirty beds for the foundations of houses such as are common on the rocky hills of Athens, and in some places a parapet wall about three feet high, cut out of the solid rock along the edge of the dizzy precipice. This rock fortress shows close resemblance to the one near the Tomb of Midas, described above, Part I., and may be compared with another smaller and more accessible one beside Heracleia ad Sipylum, described in this Journal, Oct. 1881, p. 297.

The upper surface of this crag, measuring about 100 yards in length by 15 or 20 in breadth, is so steep that it is quite as difficult to examine it as it is to climb up the side. On the very

[1] I should not have ventured, in opposition to the usual opinion, to state thus boldly what seemed true to my non-geological eye, had I not consulted Sir C. Wilson on the point. Stark and others have drawn large inferences from its supposed volcanic origin.

pinnacle, in a smooth surface of rock inclined at an angle of about 45°, there is a square-cut hole that looks like a large seat or shelf, 5 feet long, 3 feet from front to back, and 3 feet high at the back. Originally it probably served some religious purpose: the lofty commanding position and the probability that the fortress would have some sanctuary in it point to this conclusion. If it could be a grave, we might consider it that of the tutelary hero of the city, but I have never seen a grave of the kind. It seems to me more likely to have been an altar on which offerings were placed.[1]

As to the pottery found here, abundance of broken tiles like those on all sites in the district are scattered over the surface: along with these are fragments of vases of common red ware. I picked up also one small piece of a vase of a style common in the district, red glaze inside, and black glaze of the ordinary Hellenic style outside.

Three hundred yards east of the ravine, beyond some artificial tumuli, is a very beautiful tomb cut in a sloping rock at the foot of the mountain. This tomb has been drawn very badly by Steuart (*Ancient Monuments*, Pl. II.): in Herr Humann's paper above quoted, a beautiful drawing of it may be found. Its considerable size, the elaborate flight of steps which lead up to it, and the curious way in which a deep trench has been cut in the rock behind it as if to separate the whole monument from the hill, make it one of the most remarkable rock-tombs that I have seen. It stands in marked contrast to the usual Lydian sepulchral tumuli, and shows an equally marked resemblance to the Phrygian tombs: the fine flight of steps is not unlike the approach to a Phrygian rock-hewn house at Kumbet.

Half a mile east of the tomb is a hot spring, where the water gushes from the foot of the mountain at several points. This spot was, like all such springs, a holy place. Over one of the most abundant sources is a niche about 10 feet high cut in a perpendicular rock (Fig. 8). The foot of the niche is about 10 feet above the ground, but a set of holes cut to give grip for hand and foot makes it quite easy to climb up. The arrangement of the niche is peculiar, so that I add a sketch representing what

[1] For further details see the account published last year by Herr Humann. The fortress has also been briefly described by M. Weber, *Le Sipylos*, Appendix.

I conceive to be the original arrangement: the actual state does not show the sharp and well marked forms seen in the drawing. Beside the springs is a large irregular mound full of fragments of pottery: it is probable that it conceals some remains of a temple of the Greek period. This spot is doubtless the seat of Apollo ἐν Πάνδοις, one of the gods by whom the Magnesians swore (*C. I. G.* 3137). This particular Apollo is a god whose seat is outside the city of Magnesia at a place called Pandoi, and who is yet one of the holiest gods of the

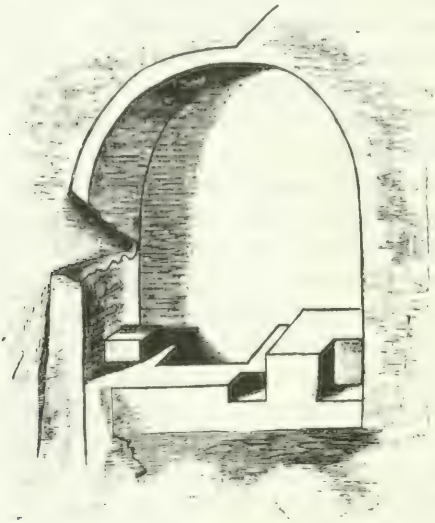


FIG. 8.—NICHE OF APOLLO.

city: in other words he is one of the gods of a former religion whom the Greeks adopted when they settled in Magnesia. Apollo was the god to whom hot springs are most frequently dedicated. There miles west of Smyrna is a similar hot spring which was likewise sacred to Apollo.[1]

On the slope of the mountain half a mile west of the acropolis is another sanctuary of this primitive people. Various little niches and rock-cuttings around show that the hand of man

[1] Strabo, p. 645. We shall speak of this identification more fully hereafter.

was active here, but none of them have character enough to detain us. The interest of the locality centres in the rock-cut image, in a niche half natural, half artificial, which is generally known as the 'Niobe.' Its importance for the proper understanding of the old city will detain us for a considerable time.[1]

I need not describe again this figure, which has already been so often described. It is the product of an art so unskilful and so rude, the lime[illegible]e out of which it is cut is so liable to decay, that it has to be mentally restored to some extent before it can be understood. But when observers, very different in previous training yet all practised in antiquarian research, such as Dennis, Hirschfeld, Sayce, and Stark[2] are all agreed in recognising a woman seated in a throne with hands laid on her breast, it is needless to take divergent opinions into account. At the level where the chair seems to rest on a basis of rock, a perpendicular groove about 18 inches high separates two projecting evidently artificial objects (*fussklötzen*, Stark). On the rock sculptures of Pteria an exactly similar groove divides the two hills on which the feet of the great gods or of the animals which support them are placed; and in the monument of Sipylos it is impossible to mistake the analogy. But on the two mountains no trace of feet can now be seen: whether the sculptor thought that the two mountains were a sufficient indication of the two feet, or whether (as is more probable) feet planted on the mountain tops were once indicated in relief, it is now impossible to tell.

The art shown in this figure is less skilful than that in any other rock-hewn monument I have seen in Asia Minor, yet its

[1] The best representation of it that I have seen is the drawing by Mr. Simpson in the *Illustrated London News*, January 1880. The simple woodcut gives almost every important detail with much greater distinctness than any photograph I have seen. Photographs often give a very inadequate idea of rock sculptures; details visible from one point and in one state of the light are not visible from another point and in another state of the light; and the apparatus can often not be placed at the only good point of view. When in addition to all these difficulties the figure is on the north side of a projecting cliff and totally in shade, the usefulness of the photograph is still further impaired.

[2] For Stark's opinion one will o course turn, not to *Niobe*, p. 102, but to *Nach d. Gr. Orient*, p. 250; Hirschfeld in *Curt. Beitr. Gesch. Kleinas*, p. 83. Sayce and Dennis in *Acad.* 1880-1.

likeness to the series of Lydian and Phrygian monuments is so great that only one conclusion is possible;[1] and the hieroglyphic inscription lately described by Mr. Dennis[2] in the rocks beside it makes it certain that the figure is one of a series that extends from Cappadocia over Phrygia and Lydia down to the Aegean Sea. The style of these symbols resembles closely those which are placed beside many of the figures at Pteria, and the mode of carving them in a little panel sunk just enough to give the necessary relief is exactly that which is employed in the rock sculptures beside the Midas tomb (see above, Part I.). It is easy to see why the art is here so rude. The sculptor has tried a new method of work: instead of the simple relief which is usual in the rock sculptures, he has made the figure almost in the round, and has not skill enough to cope with difficulties to which he was unaccustomed. There is here none of the certainty and firmness with which a traditional type was cut on the rocks in Phrygia: we have a not very successful attempt to work in a new style. Similarly Benndorf[3] has pointed out how much more skilfully the traditional type of the Gorgoneion was carved at Selinus than the other sculptures beside it, and Milchhöfer has observed in the Laconian reliefs representing Hades and Chthonia a series of reproductions of one traditional type derived from older wooden xoana (*Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* ii. 452). Throughout Phrygia and Cappadocia those figures are the rudest where the sculptor has tried to represent life in the round.

What was the goddess who is here represented? We should expect Cybele, the Mother of Sipylos, by whom both the cities of Magnesia and of Smyrna swore (*C. I. G.* 3137). We do not recognise any of the usual symbols of the goddess, the lion, the tympanon, or the phiale: the modius or the mural crown may have once adorned her head, but it is now too much worn to speak with certainty. But the artist had not sufficient power over the stone to render any of these attributes; he could not do anything except represent the outline of the figure cut out square from the stone,[4] and give one or two details in relief. Nor was anything beyond this needed for his purpose. He did

[1] Stark, *Niobe*, p. 105–6; *Nach. d. Gr. Or.* p. 251.

[2] The inscription was observed by Stark, *Orient*, p. 251.

[3] *Metopen von Selinunt*, p. 63.

[4] The same square forms instead of round, which were described above in the Phrygian ram, meet us here also.

not aim at, he had no thought of, making the figure impressive from its style and beauty. He depended on its appealing to the religious feeling of worshippers who knew what to look for. His art did not enable him to release the goddess's arms from their prison of stone and place in them symbols, as at Euyuk and Boghazkeui where the figures are only in relief. But he could show the arms and hands crossing the bosom and resting on the breasts of the all-nourishing mother. He could indicate by placing her feet on the two mountains the favourite haunts of the goddess, who was at home on every high hill. This he has done; it was enough to tell worshippers what he wished they should understand, and it is enough to reveal to us also the Mother goddess.

No figure has been discovered in Cappadocia which can be directly compared with the figure of Meter Sipylene. But the accompanying drawing (Fig. 9) shows a figure remarkably like it, and explains how a type known both at Euyuk and at Boghazkeui was modified into the statue on Sipylos. This monument is in Phrygia on the very rampart of the Midas-city described in Part I., between the Midas-tomb and the rock-sculptures. A flight of broad low steps leads up to a remarkable cut stone, which has evidently been the object of worship—a sacred symbol like that which appears on the coins of Perga or that in the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, about the character and meaning of which Tacitus could get no information (*Hist.* ii. 3). At the left side of the steps is a figure carved in the rock, which is marked by the phiale in the left hand as an image of Cybele. The very name which the goddess bore in this district is given by an inscription over a rock-altar; it begins *matar kubile*. The right hand and the lower part of the figure have been completely defaced. The face is simply a flat disc on which no features have ever been carved. The knees project so as to form a flat square lap. The square-cut shoulders and knees, the peculiar appearance of the lap, made us at once exclaim, 'We have found a new "Niobe."'

If we compare the figures of Cybele in Phrygia and in Sipylos with the sitting deities of Cappadocia, we find that the latter are always represented in profile. Two occur at Boghazkeui, but are very much worn and are not given in M. Perrot's work. Two others occur at Euyuk: one may be seen in Perrot's

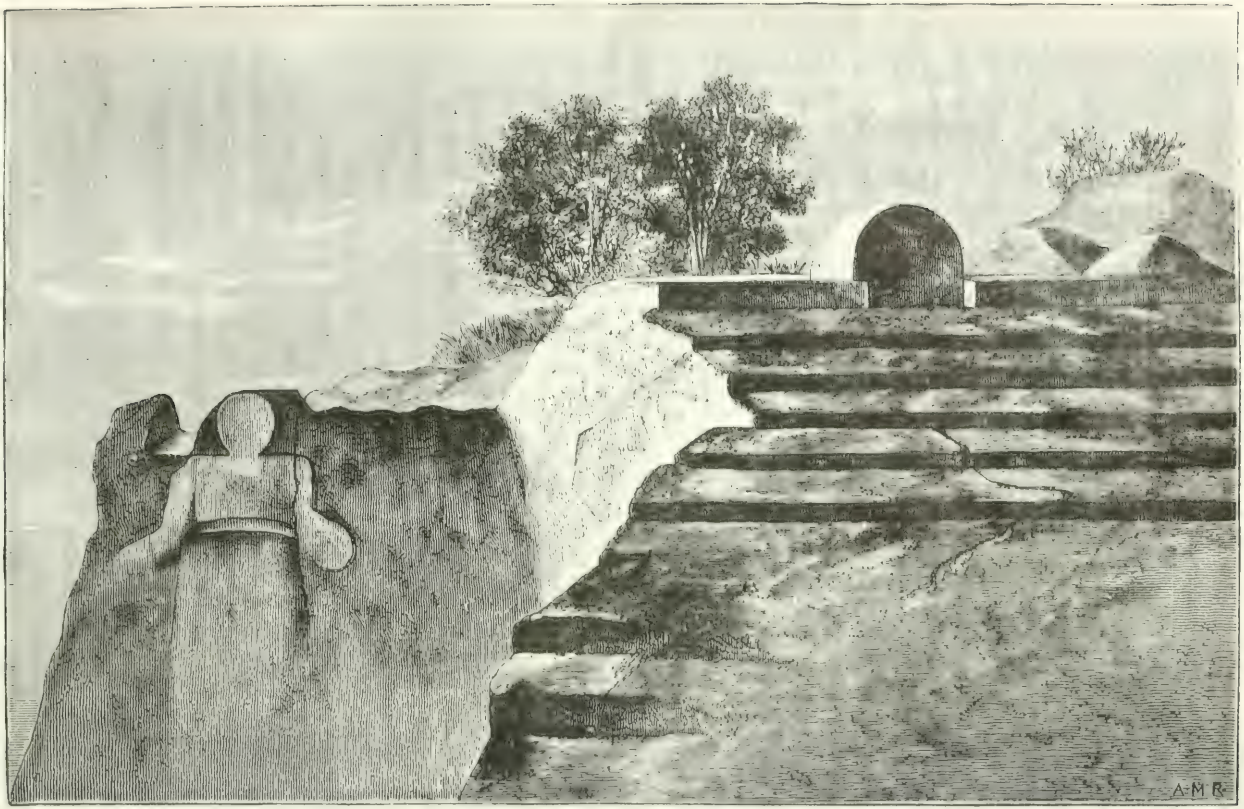


FIG. 9.

Voy. Archéol. Pl. 66; the other, precisely similar in style and attitude, is on a very interesting slab which Sir C. Wilson made the villagers turn over on our visit during last summer. The deity on Perrot's plate sits holding out in the right hand a cup: Perrot calls the object a flower, but after careful examination I had no doubt that it was a cup. The left hand raises some object towards the face. The deity on the slab which we disclosed was unluckily so much disfigured that the objects in her hands were not distinguishable.

There must have been some reason why the Phrygian art preferred to give the sitting goddess in full face. Perhaps it was that in this attitude the goddess seems more life-like and more motherly and familiar, less like a merely ornamental figure. Perhaps the aim was that the priests might lay gifts on the lap of the goddess, as in the *Iliad*—

πέπλον ἑλοῦσα Θεανὼ καλλιπάρῃος
θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠυκόμοιο.

We may assume that the knees of the Trojan Athene were like the square stiff lap of the Phrygian Cybele, or like that of the Athene on the Acropolis in Athens, and it is exceedingly probable that the Trojan custom was one usual in Asia Minor.

The Phrygian figure of Cybele has been carved in very simple style. An outline was marked and the rock cut away all round to the depth of about two inches. The knees project four inches beyond the rest of the figure.[1] On the perfectly flat surface of the figure no details of face or dress are marked. The work is much ruder than anything in the rocks around; in his alteration of the old type the artist was forced to work tentatively, and his sureness of hand deserted him. He has placed a symbol in the left hand, which he could do by simple relief: and he has given the goddess the phiale, which was a general characteristic of Phrygian deities but which in Greece was specially appropriated to Cybele, who retained Asiatic character very distinctly.[2] But when his idea was carried

[1] The height of the figure from the top of the head to the lap is 18 inches, the breadth at the lap is 15 inches.

[2] We shall have occasion below to speak of the phiale in the hand of Sabazios. On the Zeus of Acmonia and Brouzos, see *Bull. Corr. Hellen.* 1882, '*Trois Villes Phryg.*'

out more completely and the figure was more disengaged from the rock, as is the case at Magnesia, no symbols could be placed in the hands without working the arms completely in the round. The artist avoided the difficulty by representing the arms in relief on the breast.

The Phrygian type of Cybele, almost the only rock sculpture of an early time in the country which is not made in evident dependence on the art of Cappadocia, may be thus explained as the alteration of a type employed in the parent art. The alteration in this case is a new instance of the independence with which the Phrygians in some cases developed the traditional forms. We are then able to bring the whole set of hieratic figures in northern Asia Minor into one connected series: and in another place[1] the writer has tried to show that the religion of Phrygia is that which is portrayed on the rocks of Pteria. The types of the different gods were not so definitely fixed in this early art as they were afterwards among the Greeks. The phiale, as an indication of religious character, was placed in the hands of any god or goddess; the idea that a god should be pouring a libation is very common in Asia Minor, and is, in the case of the greater gods, almost confined to that country. The polos or the mural crown was originally a general head-dress marking the wearer as female, and only among the Greeks was it appropriated to certain goddesses. The flower which certain goddesses of Greek art bear was once equally appropriate to all; and the pomegranate belonged once as much to Athene and to Hera as to Aphrodite, till in mythic language Paris adjudged it to the latter.[2] In archaic Greek art the same type is often used for several different gods; the striding figure which brandishes a weapon in the right hand and holds forth the left[3] is found as Poseidon, Zeus Polieus, Athene, &c.; the standing naked male figure represents sometimes an Apollo, sometimes the deified dead man, sometimes an athlete.[4]

The figure of Cybele in Sipylos looks almost due north,

[1] *Phrygia and Cappadocia*, in the *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1882.

[2] Curtius on Athena Nike, *Arch. Ztg.* 1881.

[3] Originally, perhaps, the left hand was empty, afterwards some attribute was placed in it, see Jahn, *Nuov Mem. d. Inst.* 1865, p. 16; Köhler, *Mitth. Inst. Ath.* i. 97; Overbeck, *Kunstmyth*, iii. 223.

[4] Loeschke, *Mitth.* IV. p. 304; Conze and Michaelis, *Annali*, 1861, p. 80; Waldstein, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* I.

that in the Midas city almost due east. It is probable that little stress is to be laid on this difference, and that orientation was not so strictly attended to in the primitive period. Both the temples of the Cabiri at Samothrace face the north: so does that of Apollo Epikourios at Phigalia. The direction in which the figure faces was determined by the direction of the cliffs of Sipylos. If any importance could be attached to this altered direction, we may see here the mourning goddess of the winter, separated from her consort the Sun-god whom she can never behold.

The figure at Magnesia is the earliest known example of a hieratic representation of Cybele common among the Greeks. The goddess sits in a niche or naiskos, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by one or more figures, among whom is Hermes-Cadmilos, the Grecised form of her favourite and companion Atys. In ruder examples she sits in stiff fashion, holding in one hand the tympanon, in the other the phiale. Besides her are generally one or two lions. In more artistic examples she has laid aside the symbols which give such unnatural stiffness to the ruder figures, and often caresses with one hand the lion, which climbs up her knee or lies in her lap. In some cases the lion serves her as footstool, in other cases two sit in stiff symmetry on each side of her throne. Curtius has published an example of the most developed type, which he attributes, probably with justice, to the worship of the Ephesian Artemis. It is not surprising to find the Artemis of Ephesus represented in the same style as Cybele.[1]

It is not part of my design to speak of the relation between the art of Cappadocia and that of the far east: on this subject I have no right to express an opinion. But since we have traced the figure of Cybele across the Halys, over the Aegean sea into Greece, and have seen the gradual development of its symbolism and the final transformation of the stiff symbolism into artistic grace, it is tempting to compare the sitting goddess of Cappadocia with the Assyrian queen, whose charming figure is to be found in Canon Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, I. 494. The queen wears a head-dress which Canon Rawlinson aptly compares with the mural crown of Cybele: the hieratic

[1] Curtius, *Mitth. Inst. Ath.* ii. 48. See a full list of examples of this class, Conze, *Hermes-Kadmilos, Arch. Ztg.* 1880, p. 1.

ornament of Asia Minor is an ordinary feminine head-dress in the East. She sits on a high-backed chair with a narrow seat, and her feet, like those of the goddess of Cappadocia, are placed on a footstool. It is most probable that the Assyrian queen is a developed form of the same type from which the goddess of Asia Minor was derived.

What was the race whose stronghold and sanctuaries we have been describing? Tradition which can be traced back to the beginning of Greek literature localises here the same names which we find in the legends of the Achaeans and the Pelopidae; and we must therefore conclude that a kindred and semi-Greek race lived here. Yet the influence of the oriental religion and art of Cappadocia is equally conspicuous: and we must admit that there had already taken place that union of native Indo-European with oriental religion which produced the peculiar worship of Asia Minor. Atys is a representative of the oriental element; Manes, on the other hand, is a purely Indo-European name; and it is probably not too bold to see in Atys, son of Manes, first king of Lydia, and the dynasty that springs from him a mythical embodiment of the old race which occupied the stronghold of Sipylos. These first kings of Lydia could not be connected with Sardis, which is a city of later foundation (Strabo, 626–7): and no place has ever been found in the Hermus valley which has the same claims to be the stronghold of the earliest power in this district as the old city of Sipylos.

We recognise in this ancient city one of those homes of early civilisation, the abode of the primeval first king and first man at once divine and human, like Lycosoura with its Lycaon, like Argos with its Phoroneus. Sipylos is the home of the gods, *πατρὶς θεῶν*, and at the same time the first city and the earliest centre of society, *πρώτη πόλις*.[1] Tantalus, the guest and host of the gods, the son of Zeus, the husband of Dione, is its king: the tale knows neither predecessor nor successor. Tantalus is one of the mythical figures who can with the greatest certainty be proved to belong to the original Graeco-Asiatic cycle of religious legends: he is as much at

[1] Aristides uses this expression not exactly in the sense given above, as Stark understands it (*Niobe*, p. 411), but as the first Smyrna. Still it seems probable that the religious legend was current in Smyrna, and Aristides puts it in historical form.

home in Argos and in Corinth, as on Sipylos. The form of the name shows its genuine Indo-European character: it is one of those peculiar reduplications which are specially characteristic of Vedic Sanscrit, and Sonne (*Kuhn. Zeitschr.* x. on *Charis*) has with great probability explained it as a name of the Sun-god. The hieratic legend has found a historical setting in the fate of the earliest and most holy city of Lydia, for such the tradition proves Sipylos to be. In this city we have a centre of primitive religion, the importance of which for Greek history can hardly be exaggerated,[1] and which, though it gave way before new and more convenient seats of power, left in tradition and in actual remains very clear evidence of its real character. These remains are a measure of the civilisation of this early period. That house-building was well advanced is proved by the numerous tiles on the acropolis, by the considerable size of the houses of which walls of rock remain in some places ten feet high, and by a peculiarly cut stone the use of which I do not know exactly, but which is almost certainly a part of a roof. Exactly similar stones may be seen on the site of the old city on the pass between Smyrna and Nymphio (*Journ. Hell. Studies*, Vol. I.). In general, the character of the site, the walls of rock, the use of chambers cut in the rock as tombs in contrast to the method universal in later Lydian time of burying in tumuli, remind of Phrygia and make it probable that Sipylos was an early seat of the old Phrygian civilisation, of which the path westward is marked by the religious centres it established, that of Zeus Bennios and the Benneitai at the head-waters of the Tembris, that of Coloe in the Katakekaumene, finally that of Sipylos. At first the form of sepulture which had been suggested by the soft and easily-worked rocks of Phrygia was continued in Lydia, but soon the nature of the country and of the mountains led to the use of tumuli in the Hermus valley and of cairns at Smyrna. Tumuli and cairns are hardly known in Phrygia, but in Cappadocia at the old religious centre of Comana, Sir C. Wilson informs me that cairns exist in great numbers; and we observed several not far beyond the Halys. It is easy to account for the difference of custom by the varying character of the country.

[1] Curtius has described its close relation to the beginnings of Hellenic civilisation, *Beliq. Char. of Gr. Coins. Num. Chron.* 1870.

During the period which corresponds to this first Lydian dynasty we must conclude that a homogeneous culture and religion extended from Sipylos over the valleys north and south. Only in this way can it be explained why both Smyrna and Magnesia have the same tutelary goddess during the Greek period and how Tantalus is the legendary founder of the oldest city on the Smyrna gulf. It is, however, very improbable that any empire in the later sense was established on Sipylos. The little acropolis does not look like the seat of an empire such as Aeschylus describes (fr. 155, Dind.):—

> Σπείρῳ δ' ἄρουραν δώδεχ' ἡμερῶν ὁδόν
> Βερέκυντα χῶρον, ἔνθ' Ἀδραστείας ἔδος
> Ἴδη τε μυκηθμοῖσι καὶ βρυχήμασι
> Πρέπουσι μήλων, πᾶν δ' ὀρεχθέει πέδον.

All analogy leads to the conclusion that such great empires were a growth of later time, and that the town and sanctuaries of Sipylos were, like pre-Hellenic Ephesus and like the great religious centres of Asia Minor such as Pessinus and others, the seat of a priestly suzerainty maintained over the *hiero-douloi* of the surrounding district.[1]

It is not necessary to suppose, on the contrary it is improbable, that the establishment of the second dynasty was a real revolution in Lydia. It simply marks the stage when growing civilisation and quickened intercourse with the East, facilitated by the formation of a permanent road from Pteria, by Pessinus, Gordium, and the city of the Midas necropolis to the Hermus valley, had raised the people of the valley to the conception of a real kingdom in the oriental sense. The whole history of western Asia Minor, depends on a proper understanding of this 'Royal Road'; and I must refer to another place[2] for a full discussion of its origin, direction, and relation to the history of Asia Minor. Its existence implies a power in the Hermus valley desirous of maintaining communication with the kingdoms of the East, Phrygia and Cappadocia: and it is a tempting hypothesis to assume that these three events were coincident—the growth of

[1] See Curtius on Ephesus (*Beitr.* 1, ff.): Pessinus and Coloe, whose names were unknown till lately, are the only ones of these priestly centres of which the cultus and organization are to some extent described by native documents.

[2] *Phrygia and Cappadocia*, *l.c.*

a strong central city Sardis, the establishment of a central power which is in legendary history called the Heracleid dynasty, and the making of the 'Royal Road.' It must be observed that Sardis is situated straight opposite the point where the road enters on the level Hermus valley, and is the nearest place where a strong site could be found.

The second or Heracleid dynasty represents this power of Sardis. Its thoughts and connections are entirely turned to the East: its genealogical legends show a purely oriental character. No traditions represent it in intercourse with Greece. From this time Lydia passes out of the sphere of Greek development, and is almost unknown to us; whereas the older race seems in legend hardly distinguishable from the actual Greeks. What was the nature of this connection between the Pelopid Maeonians or Phrygians centred on Sipylos and the inhabitants of Greece, it is difficult to say: the fact is too strongly attested by direct legendary statement and indirect coincidence of names and religious forms to admit of doubt. Lydia again enters into the circle of Greek history when the Heracleid dynasty gives place to a new and apparently native Maeonian family, who break with the East and turn their face to the West.

It is therefore quite probable that the old city of Sipylos existed for some time alongside of Sardis; contemporary powers are often expressed in legendary history as successive dynasties. Though a central power existed at Sardis, it was not a despotic empire like that of the Mermnad dynasty. Gelzer in his articles on early Lydian history[1] has clearly proved this, and has shown that the later kings of the Heracleid dynasty were not strong rulers like Gyges and his successors. But when he assumes that the earlier kings of the dynasty were sovereigns of a more real character, we may ask for proof. The Greek colonists, it is quite clear, met with no powerful enemy, no combination, nothing but local resistance: at every point where we have any evidence we find that the natives resisted the Greeks, and it seems very unlikely that a strong empire at Sardis would have suffered the Hermus valley as far up as Magnesia to pass into Greek hands. Till some proof is found that such an empire existed, it is safer to look on the

[1] *Rh. Mus.* xxx. and xxxv.

powerful Lydian empire as beginning with the Mermnad kings and as springing from the influence of Ionic social organisation. Freedom, individuality, and secular power, were Greek ideas rather than Asiatic: they acted on the natives of Lydia, and the Mermnad dynasty was supported by Carian mercenaries and in intimate relation, pacific or hostile, with the Greek cities.

If we take this view the history of Asia Minor is very simple. The religious influence which emanated from Cappadocia (see *Journ. Hell. As. Soc.*, *l.c.*) spread one strongly marked system of society and government over Phrygia and Lydia: the priests are either the sole rulers or at least equal to the king in authority. The country is divided into many smaller states, each with its own religious centre and perhaps its own feudal chief. Gelzer has proved that this system existed in Lydia (*Rh. Mus.* xxxv. p. 519 *ff.*), and I have been led to the same supposition about Phrygia (*Trois Villes Phryg.*, *l.c.*). In Lydia a historical account (Nic. Dam. fr. 48) enables us to trace the process by which the Heracleid kings of Sardis became the powerful sovereigns of the whole country, and we see the influence of Greek manners and thoughts underlying it. This influence is in its earliest stage when Ardys takes refuge at Cyme about 770; it grows and finds leaders in one of the great territorial families which finally, about 687 B.C., becomes supreme.

These remarks would be entirely out of place if an Assyrian domination had ever existed in Lydia, as is assumed by Curtius and by Stark. In the middle of the seventh century an Assyrian king speaks of Lydia as a country which his forefathers had never known,[1] and there is nothing in the art and remains of Lydia and Phrygia to point immediately to Assyria as the model.

If the statement of the Greek historians be accepted that the Heracleid dynasty ruled 505 years in Lydia, its establishment in Sardis would date about 1192 B.C. But it is not safe to set much store by this epoch. When Cappadocia is more fully explored, it may become possible to speak more definitely about this early period. But certainly the ruin of the old city and of the priestly rule on Sipylos is not connected with the foundation of Sardis. The Heracleid dynasty was not in antagonism to, but in alliance with, the priestly suzerainties

[1] Smith, *Hist. of Assyria*, p. 146.

of Lydia: and the Greek settlers evidently found the city with its religious system still flourishing. They adopted the religion, but just as elsewhere along the coast, they substituted for priestly rule their freer city organisation; and just as in Ephesus and Smyrna,[1] the conquest of the Greek city by the later Lydian kings meant the restoration of the old priestly rule and the dissolution of the Greek political system. The history of Magnesia is quite unknown, but the analogy of the other cities proves that the opposition between Greek and native rule was a contest of systems and civilisations, a struggle between freedom and priestly rule, between freemen and hiero-douloi.

A new period begins in the history of Sipylos when the nations of the West began to intrude on the coasts of Asia Minor. On a bold and commanding hill which projects from the main range of Sipylos about four miles west of the old city, a rival city was built. Its name, Magnesia, points to Thessaly, but nothing is recorded about its establishment, and no foundation-legend has been preserved to us. The close analogy of early Ephesian history will however make it easy to conceive how the new city gradually supplanted the old, entering into its religious heritage, and maintaining the old cultus of the Mother of Sipylos and of Apollo ἐν Ηάνδοις. In like manner the Magnesians of the Maeander valley worshipped as their chief deity the native Artemis Leucophryênê, the Ephesian Greeks the Artemis of Ephesus, the Aeolians of Smyrna the Meter Sipylene. The new settlers would not insult the gods to whom the country belonged: they felt that they must propitiate them with the ceremonies they were accustomed to. The list of gods by whom the Magnesians took an oath to observe the treaty with Smyrna about 245 B.C., is Zeus, Hera, Helios, Ares, Athene Areia, Tauropolos, Meter Sipylene, Apollo ἐν Ηάνδοις. The first six are the gods whom they brought with them from Thessaly: the last two are the gods of Sipylos whom they adopted as deities of the land.

The foundation of Magnesia is not connected with the Aeolic immigration, which seems never to have penetrated beyond the Boghaz that divides the lower from the middle Hermus valley. Magnesia was never one of the Aeolic cities; the Magnetes are mentioned separately alongside of Ionians and Aeolians by

[1] Compare Curtius on the early history of Ephesus, *Beitr. Gesch. Kleinas.*,

Herodotus iv. 90. It is therefore certain that the Magnesian settlement is later than the Aeolian; the Greeks would not have gone so far inland unless they had found the lower Hermus valley already occupied. It is impossible to attain greater definiteness with regard to its date than this, that it was after the Aeolic settlement of Larissa and Smyrna and before the time of Gyges, who had to conquer their city.[1] This was naturally his first attack on the Greeks: the city was the nearest neighbour in the same valley with Sardis.

Yet another change occurred in the centre of power in this district. Magnesia on its steep and high hill was felt to be inconvenient, and a New Magnesia grew in the valley below. The upper town continued to exist as Palai-magnesia: it was the fortress of the district, and when, about 245 B.C., Smyrna obliged the Magnesians to conclude a treaty with them and bind themselves to have the same enemies and friends as Smyrna, one of the conditions was that a Smyrnaean garrison should be stationed in Palai-magnesia. This last change brings us to the position in which the chief city of the district has remained down to the present time.

What evidence, apart from analogy with other seats of Cybele-worship, exists as to the old religion of Sipylos? The name Meter Sipylene, which was usual in Smyrna and occurs frequently on its coins and inscriptions, is not mentioned on coins of Magnesia, but is used in the treaty (*C. I. G.* 3137). This name was therefore familiar in the city: but the peculiarly native name of the Magnesian goddess is given by Pausanias as Meter Plakiane,[2] like the Cybele Plakiane at Cyzicus. The epithet was doubtless, as at Cyzicus, derived from the name of the particular hill on which the *hieron* is placed. In a district of the Troad where the legend of Niobe was also specially localised (Stark, *Niobe*, p. 397, *ff.*), where an Ἀδραστείας πεδίον reminds us of the Phrygian Adrastos (Herod i. 35) and of the Nemesis who is so frequently found in relation with Cybele-worship, we find a town Thebe under a mount Plakos. It lies in the Ἀπίας πεδίον, a name that connects itself both with the

[1] Nic. Damasc. fr. 49, which is a curious proof of the intercourse between Lydia and the Greek cities, although it cannot be counted historical.

[2] The reading of the MSS. is πλαστανης or πλαστηνης, v. 13; the emendation is generally accepted.

Peloponnesos and the Phrygian religion.[1] Plakos is therefore a fit name to find in the peculiar home of the Niobe legends among the hills of Sipylos.

On the coins of Magnesia there are two types of Cybele which occur far more frequently than any other. In one the goddess is sitting between two lions, holding in her right hand the phiale and resting her left, which sometimes holds the *hasta pura*, on the tympanon. In the other the goddess stands in a temple between two lions, holding out in the right hand a phiale, and with the left supporting a tympanon on her shoulder. Slight modifications of each type occur, but on the whole they are so constant and frequent that they must have been modelled after two images of the Cybele whom the city worshipped as its patron goddess. In that case the sitting figure, which is never represented inside a temple, is probably the rock figure of Meter Plakiane, while the standing image in the temple must be that which was in a temple of Cybele inside the city. Although the *hieron* of Meter Plakiane was evidently a very holy place for the Magnesians, it was too far from the city, too high and difficult of access, to be the actual seat of the state-worship. Numerous cases may be quoted from the history of Greek religion, in which besides the old and peculiarly holy shrine, too small and inconvenient for the worship of later times, a temple corresponding in size and magnificence to more advanced requirements was built, so *e.g.* the two temples of Asclepios in the Asclepieion at Athens, the two temples of the Samothracian cultus, &c.[2] In these cases the chief part of the cultus is performed in the later temple: hence we can understand that at Magnesia also the second temple of the Meter Sipylene was the most familiar to the citizens and still more to strangers, and it is not improbable that the name Plakiane was restricted to the old rock sanctuary. The standing image of Cybele in the second temple became the recognised representative of the city. On the coin that commemorates ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ, Smyrna is represented by the two Nemeseis, and Magnesia by the standing

[1] A Phrygian town is named Appia. The commonest personal names in Phrygia are Apion, Apiôn, Apia, Apios, Appe, Appias, &c. I would connect these, like all other common Phrygian names, with native religion, and not, as Cavedoni (*Annali*, 1861, p. 149), does, with the Roman proconsul Appius, 53 B.C.

[2] See Köhler, *Mitth.* ii. 255; Benndorf, *Samothrace*, ii.

figure of Cybele: and when we see on Magnesian coins a figure of Fortune standing in a tetrastyle temple we shall look on it as the goddess of the city slightly modified to symbolise the 'Good Fortune of Magnesia.'[1] It is doubtless by a slight modification of the same idea that on the Puteolanian Basis, an imitation of the monument raised at Rome in the Forum Julium beside the temple of Venus Genitrix by fourteen cities of Asia Minor, Magnesia is represented as a woman dressed in a long chiton and a mantle, adorned with mural crown, and holding in the raised right hand an object the character of which is now undistinguishable.

On a coin of Magnesia occurs the type of a Hermaphrodite (Mionnet, *Suppl.* vii. p. 385). The idea of an original self-complete nature in which the distinction of sex has not yet been developed was characteristic of the cultus of Cybele, and is known to have been an Asiatic, not a Greek thought.[2]

The most important evidence of the character of the cultus in Sipylos is the passage where Pausanias mentions the dance *kordax*, which the companions of Pelops had known in their old home and introduced in their new Peloponnesian abode. In this tale the *fact* is that such a dance was practised in the religion of Sipylos: the *legendary addition* lies in the explanation of how the same dance was used in Elis. Enthusiastic dances are a regular accompaniment of the Asiatic religion. Curtius has aptly compared the dances at the festival of Artemis Koloênê on the Gygaean lake (*καλάθους χορεύειν*, Str. p. 626) with those in honour of the Spartan Artemis, where women danced wearing crowns of reeds: 'The spirit of this naturalistic cultus leads the servants of the goddess while engaged in her worship to transform themselves into the likeness of her holy animals, stag, cow, or bear, or of plants, which stand in relation to her worship.'[3]

The Meter Sipylene is doubtless the same goddess who was worshipped all over the Hermus valley, as Cybele at Sardis, as Artemis Koloênê at the Gygaean lake. When we find that the Lydians maintained that they possessed the original of the statue

[1] Similar remarks might perhaps apply to various figures of Fortune on coins of Asia Minor; in other cases, however, the Fortune is simply the Roman idea copied.

[2] See Jahn in *Leipz. Verhandl.* 1851.

[3] *Artemis Gygaia*, in *Arch. Ztg.* 1853, p. 151.

of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, and when we hear that after the scourging of boys in front of her altar in Sparta, a πομπὴ Λυδῶν was held, we shall set these facts alongside of the many others which prove that the religion of Sipylos was carried direct to the Peloponnesos. The traditions of the Pelopid dynasty are as closely interwoven with Lydian Artemis-worship as they are with Sipylos and Phrygia.[1]

It is unnecessary in this place to do more than refer to the proofs already often collected that the goddess Artemis of Laconia and Attica, with her human sacrifices and her wholly foreign character, is identical with the Lemnian goddess Chryse and the Thraco-Phrygian Cybele. With slight local modifications the cultus of Artemis Tauropolos, Limnatis, Orthia, Orthosia, &c., is essentially the same as that of the Lydian Artemis; and few will now try to maintain that the strict separation which prevailed in Hellenic polytheism between the different goddesses had any counterpart in the primitive cultus. No strong line can be drawn between Artemis and Cybele: their nature is essentially the same, viz. an impersonation of the living, fertile, self-reproductive power of nature: their cultus is essentially the same with its priestly sovereignty over a district of hiero-douloi: the names attached to its religion, found in the legends that grow round each seat of the cultus are the same. The relation which these different forms of the Asiatic goddess bear to one another will not be fully understood till the rock sculptures of Pteria have been explained.

These indications, slight in themselves, are enough to show the character of the worship of Cybele on Mount Sipylos, and to assimilate it to the general religion of Lydia and Phrygia; and when we find that a hill in the suburbs of Smyrna was called the Hill of Atys,[2] we shall not hesitate to connect it with the worship of the Meter Sipylene, *τῆς εἰλληχυίας θεοῦ τὴν πόλιν*, and to consider that the name Atys was in the religion of Sipylos applied to the god who was associated with the Meter Sipylene.

The Greek emigrants, while still in Thessaly, must have

[1] Curtius, *Art. Gyg.*; Müller, *Dorier* i. p. 382.

[2] See Aristides, ed. Dind., ii. 449, where the context shows clearly that the neighbourhood of Smyrna is meant, and not, as the writer of the life of Aristides in vol. i. imagines, the district of Poimanene.

worshipped Zeus, and on the autonomous coins of Magnesia Zeus is the most characteristic type. When the Greek settlers adopted the old religion of Sipylos alongside of their own Greek worship, the legends of the two religions became so mixed together that it is often hardly possible to distinguish them. Hence when we find that the myths relating to Rhea and Kronos, the birth of Zeus, the Kouretes, the union of Zeus and Semele, the Nymphs, the river Acheloos, &c., were localised on Sipylos, the only means of determining whether any of these belong to the native religion is to examine how far they can be observed in the religion and nomenclature of the whole district, especially further up the valley in the purely Lydian country.

Zeus was born on Mount Tmôlos at a place a little west of Sardis (Johan. Lydus *de Mens. Apr.*). Now Tmôlos is the same name as Tomaros, the sacred mountain of Zeus that overhangs Dodona. On the one side we have the various forms Tmôlos, Timolos, Tumôlos, on the other side the forms Tmaros, Tmôros, Tomouros, Tomaros;[1] and it seems hardly open to doubt that these two series of forms are related to each other with the variation of *l* and *r*. It is therefore clear that the birth of Zeus on the mountain was part of the earliest common Graeco-Lydian religion and at home from the earliest time in both countries. But the birth of Zeus on the mountain is clearly the same legend as the birth of the Phrygian Mountain-son Agdistis (*agdos* the Phrygian for mountain, Greek ὄχθος), *i.e.* Atys, and it becomes therefore most probable that the Greeks found the legend existing on Sipylos and Tmôlos in the form that the native god Atys, the beloved of Meter Cybele, was born on the sacred mountain, that they identified the native god with their own Zeus (as in Bithynia, according to Arrian, Papas, Attis and Zeus were considered names of the same god, see Eust. on Il. v. 405, p. 463), and the birth and home of Zeus were therefore located on Sipylos.

So also the river and fountain worship connected with Achelous and the nymphs was as characteristic of Lydia as of Thessaly. The Achelous beside which the nymphs danced is mentioned by Homer and Pausanias in connection with Sipylos.

[1] Probably the river Timeles is the river of Timolos. See Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Tumôlos, Tomaros.

Achelês was a river of Sipylos: Achelês the son of Heracles was ancestor of the Heracleid dynasty of Lydia: Achelesios was said to be a river of the Hermus valley. The Greeks were ordered by the oracle of Dodona to sacrifice to Achelous, and in like manner the rivers of Lydia were worshipped, Hyllus, a Lydian river is, like the leader of the Heracleid invasion into the Peloponnesos, a son of Heracles: Hermos is a son of Zeus in local tradition (*Vit. Hom.*) or of Oceanos (Hes. *Theog.* 345): Meles in the Smyrna valley, the father of Homer, the ever fresh-flowing bath of the nymphs (Aristid. *or. Jebb*, p. 232) bears the name of a Lydian Heracleid king, and his worship is proved by the following inscription on a column in the mosque of Bournabat:[1]—

ὑμνῶ θεὸν Μέλητα *(ποταμὸν) τὸν σωτῆρά μου*
παντὸς δὲ λοιμοῦ καὶ κακοῦ πεπαυμένον.

The worship of feminine personifications of the waters and of nature in general is equally characteristic of Lydia. The leaders of the Maeonians at Troy are the two sons of Talaimenes and the Gygaean Lake, *i.e.* the goddess or nymph of the lake. It is only another version of the same idea that Iphition, son of Otrynteus (a name of the Lydo-Phrygian mythology, see Part IV. *s.v.* Atreus) and the Naiad, was born beside the Gygaean lake (*Iliad*, xx. 382). Other examples of the idea current in Mysia and Lydia that the heroes of the land are the sons of the goddess-nymphs of lakes and fountains, are collected by E. Müller[2]: and the same idea is seen in the parentage of the Thessalian hero Achilles. Where the chiefs were born, there also they were buried: the graves of the Lydian kings and heroes are found on the shores of their mother-lake. It is clear that the two ideas have a common origin connected with the cultus of the dead as living on in the life of nature, which was evidently such a prominent part of Phrygian religion.

The mountain nymphs plant elm trees round the grave of Eetion at Thebe (*Iliad*, vi. 420), a place of which the close

[1] I repeat the inscription, as the text in *C. I. G.* 3165 is inaccurate. The word *ποταμὸν* which disturbs the metre is bracketed; it shows that the dedicator is quoting from some other source. The form of the letters makes it highly probable that the inscription dates from the end of the second century B.C. The Pi has one leg shorter than the other, yet the letters have the ornate form that marks the Roman period.

[2] *Gyges u. d. Gyg. See* in *Philol.* vii.

analogy to Sipylos in nomenclature has already been noticed. The Phrygian tale of Baucis and Philemon (Ov. *Met.* viii. 623) in like manner centres in the cultus attached to an oak and a linden, the spirits of a hero and heroine, in a sacred precinct beside a swamp. The reading Tyanea (l. 722), which transports the scene from the fields of Pelops and the Phrygian hills (l. 623) to Cappadocia, is not in the MSS., and Stark remarks on the suitability of the description to Sipylos.[1]

Apollo is also a common type on coins of Magnesia. He is generally sitting holding in his left hand a lyre, in his right either a branch or a phiale. The phiale is, as we have seen above, a special characteristic of Phrygian deities. The god standing with a phiale in the right hand and often pouring from it a libation on an altar is one of the commonest types on coins over the whole of Phrygia and Lydia, and on two reliefs[2] of great importance for Asiatic religion, his name is given as Zeus Sabazios. In these cases therefore Sabazios was identified with the Hellenic Zeus, but it is more usual to find the type identified with Apollo, and most coins show this intention. The Asiatic characteristic phiale shows that the Lydian god whose seat of worship was by the hot springs, and not a really Hellenic Apollo, was the model for the coins of Magnesia. The branch which the god on the coins sometimes carries instead of the phiale is the symbol of his purificatory power, very appropriate to the Apollo of the hot springs. In the treaty (*C. I. G.* 3137) it is provided that the Magnesians shall place one copy ἐμ Πάνδοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, and it seems almost certain that the Apollo by whom the Magnesians swore, and whom we have considered a god adopted by the Greek settlers, is the same Apollo who appears frequently on coins of the city bearing a symbol characteristic of Asiatic gods. A new temple to the Mother of Sipylos was built in the city; but the new temple to Apollo was built in the old place at Pandoi. There must have been some reason for the difference: it is that the hot springs marked the place that the god had chosen as his own seat, and we have above referred to the remains of the temple there. The type, like

[1] But the legend in Ovid contains a reference to the legend of the flood, as Abel remarks (Pauli, *Encycl. s.v.* Phryges), and this legend was localised in southern Phrygia on the road between Celaenae and Tyana. *Pelopeia* must be translated in a general sense.

[2] Wagner, in vol. xxx. of the *Mem. Acad.* Brussels; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880.

those of Cybele, was not improbably taken from a statue in the temple. The lyre and the general type of the figure are purely Greek: we have here one of those half-Greek half-Asian combinations which resulted everywhere from the desire to identify Asian and Greek deities.

Asclepios was worshipped in Magnesia. He appears on coins and his priesthood is mentioned in the following inscription, a copy of which was given me by Mr. C. Palamida: *Λυσανίας Νικίου ἱερεὺς γενόμενος Ἀσκληπιοῦ κείονας πέντε*.[1] Nothing remains to show whether the worship was introduced from Greece at a later period when the cultus became a popular one, or was connected with the old religion of Sipylos.

From the legend **ΕΝΜΟΝΙΔΕΙΑ** on coins of Magnesia, evidently the name of some games, Eckhel (iii. 107) concludes that some place in the neighbourhood called Monideia was the seat of a festival and games. The legend occurs in the fuller form **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΑΑΝΤΩΝΗΑΕΝΜΟΝΙΔΕΙΑ**, but it is doubtful whether one can safely suppose that an old festival at this place received a new name in Roman time.

There remains to consider the derivation of the name Sipylos. The traditional derivation, accepted by Stark, is that Sipylos means 'the gate of god,' Sibulla 'the counsel of god.' Derivations of Asiatic names from Greek words is permissible only when these words can be proved to have been in use in Asia Minor, or when they closely resemble early Indo-European forms: it is not safe to derive Asiatic names from words which have a manifestly Greek stamp on them, such as *σιός* and *θεός*.[2] It would be desirable in the name of this sacred mountain to find some reference to antique religion. The Amazon name Hypsipyle is either a name fabricated on Greek soil or a false form produced by popular derivation: it may be the feminine of Sipylos. It is still more probable that Sibulla[3] is likewise a false form

[1] I have not myself seen the inscription, which is said to be on a small pillar. The Greek who gave it to Mr. Palamida offered to sell me the honour of discovering this and several other things in the neighbourhood, but I declined to trade.

[2] Comp. Ahr. *Dial. Aeol.* § 6, 5.

[3] Sibulla belongs to the Apollo-cultus of Asia Minor, whence she spread to Cumae in Campania. She is called the sister, or daughter, or consort, or priestess of Apollo. Her grave was shown in the temple of Apollo at Gergis in the Troad; and at Cumae her cave with her tomb in it lay beside the temple of Apollo. Her prophetic books are a gift of the god.

produced by Greek lips from the same original. The original form is then Sibulos, fem. Sibula, which became among the Greeks σί-πυλος and σί-βυλλα. If this hypothetical Sibula be accepted, it follows that the earth-goddess Semele, who is known on Sipylos (Schol. *Iliad*, xxiv. 615), bears the same name. The change of 'b' to 'm' is common, and especially on the eastern side of the Aegean: on the Cypriote forms κυμεράω for κυβερνάω, τρεμιθοῦς from τερέβινθος, see Deecke in *Bezzenb. Beitr.* vi.: on 'μ' for 'π' and for 'β' in Lesbian, see Ahrens, *Dial. Aeol.* § 6, 6: in Asia Minor compare Salmakis and Salbakos, Baththin and Immathin, Blaundos and Mlaundos, &c. Every step towards simplifying the infinite variety of Greek religion and mythology is so important that one is tempted to hazard the comparison of this Sibula with Kibula, and to suppose that in the name of the goddess Cybele there were two forms Kubila and Kibula (compare Μυτιλήνη and Μιτυλήνη). Either two separate names for the earth-goddess, Semele-Sibula and Cybele, exist side by side, or these two names are derived from one original form. As all these names are foreign words spelt as they sounded to the Greek ear, we must expect to find in them great variations in vowel sound, and frequent modifications to produce a word significant in the Greek language. In the transcription of Roman names we find frequent examples of both tendencies (see Dittenberger's papers on this subject, *Hermes* vi.). So the son of Heracles and Omphale, called Akeles by Hellanicus, sometimes appears as Agelaos or Alkaios. A good example is seen in the Lycian town Kandyba and the personal name Kendaibês, which evidently means 'man of Kandyba.' The form Kendaibês, stem Kendaibi, is formed from an original Kendabi by the common metathesis of *i*. Hence the older form of the town-name is Kandaba, the same word as the Carian town Tendeba.

If this comparison be correct, the one original form has in different places and different circumstances been developed into the many variants Sibulla, Semele, Hypsipyle, Sipulos, and Kybele.

We come now to the Niobe legend; and the first question which arises is whether the rock-cut image of Cybele above described can be identified with the Niobe of Greek literature—

ἤκουσα δὴ λυγροτάταν ὀλέσθαι
τὰν Φρυγίαν ξέναν
Ταντάλου Σιπύλῳ πρὸς ἄ-
κρῳ τὰν κισσὸς ὡς ἀτενὴς
πετραία βλάστα δάμασεν,
καί νιν ὄμβροι τακομέναν,
ὡς φάτις ἀνδρῶν,
χιών τ' οὐδαμὰ λείπει,
τέγγει δ' ὑπ' ὀφρύσι παγκλαύτοις δειράδας.
(Soph. *Antig.* 822.)

παντατλάμων Νιόβα, σὲ δ' ἔγωγε νέμω θεόν,
ἄτ' ἐν τάφῳ πετραίῳ
αἰαῖ δακρύεις. (Soph. *Electr.* 150.)

Both Aeschylus and Sophocles lay special stress on the fact that Niobe is a goddess and not a mortal woman—

ἀλλὰ θεός τοι καὶ θειογενής,
ἡμεῖς δὲ βροτοὶ καὶ θνητογενεῖς, (Soph. *Antig.* 834.)

which looks like a half-understood reminiscence of the Cybele statue. In like manner it is easy to understand the words of Homer as referring to the same figure. Two different versions are mixed up in the passage of the *Iliad* (24, 610, ff.). According to that which is connected with the context, Niobe was consoled after her sorrow, and the people were turned into stones: according to the other, which is usually esteemed an interpolation—

νῦν δέ που ἐν πέτρῃσιν ἐν οὔρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν
ἐν Σιπύλῳ, ὅθι φασὶ θεάων ἔμμεναι εὐνὰς
Νυμφάων, αἵ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελώϊον ἐρρώσαντο,
ἔνθα λίθος περ ἐοῦσα θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει.

Similarly the expressions of most other writers who refer to the fate of Niobe and connect it with Sipylos might well apply to this figure: a full list of them may be found in Stark, *Niobe* p. 26, ff. But the case is very different when one examines the words of the only two writers who have certainly seen what they describe as 'Niobe,' Pausanias of Magnesia and Quintus of Smyrna. The natural meaning of their words is that both of them describe an appearance presented at particular points of view by the natural conformation of the mountain. It looks like a woman mourning who

μάλα μύρια δάκρυα χεύει·
καὶ τὸ μεν ἀτρεκέως φὴς ἔμμεναι, ὁππoτ' ἄρ' αὐτήν
τηλόθεν ἀθρήσειας, ἐπὴν δέ οἱ ἐγγὺς ἵκηαι,
φαίνεται αἰπήεσσα πέτρη Σιπύλοιο τ' ἀπορρώξ.
Q. Sm. i. 300.

ἡ δε πλησίον μὲν πέτρα καὶ κρημνός ἐστιν οὐδὲν παρόντι σχῆμα παρεχόμενος γυναικὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε πενθούσης· εἰ δέ γε πορρωτέρω γένοιο, δεδακρυμένην δόξεις ὁρᾶν καὶ κατηφῆ γυναῖκα.[1]—Paus. i. 21, 3.

The image of Cybele does not correspond to these words. Its artificial character and the fact that it is a representation of a human being become much more evident the nearer one goes to it. Moreover, I have never been able to see it weep. I have gone twice in the midst of heavy rain which had lasted for some time, but found not a drop of water flowing over the figure: the water drops from the front of the niche quite clear of the figure and does not touch even its knees.[2] Pausanias lays much less stress than other writers on the tears of the Niobe, and he expressly rebukes the unjustifiable exaggeration that Niobe weeps in summer (viii. 2, 5-6): but even he seems to consider that she weeps at least in the rainy season. Moreover it seems certain that Pausanias refers to the rock-figure when he says (iii. 22) that the Magnesians of Sipylos possessed *Μητρὸς θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἁπάντων ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ Κοδδίνου πέτρᾳ*, the work of Broteas son of Tantalus. There are only two alternatives open. Either one may believe that Pausanias's Niobe and his Cybele are the same, or one must believe that the rock-figure now known is his Cybele and that his Niobe is still hid *ἐν οὔρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν*. The former is far the more alluring view: but it has the disadvantage that it makes the usually accurate Pausanias stultify himself in the most extraordinary manner about a point which he knew so well.[3] Finally it must be remembered

[1] I too have seen at Edinburgh Brougham haranguing the city from the mountain side: when you are beside it you see nothing but a rock, but if you go to a particular point at some distance, you would fancy that you saw a man speaking from the crag.

[2] On this matter of fact I am sorry to have to differ from Dr. Van Lennep.

[3] One who reads over the passages in which Pausanias refers to Sipylos, Niobe, and Tantalus, cannot fail to be struck with the life-like and telling accuracy of his language; it is that of a loving eye-witness.

that the only account which distinctly localises the legends places them among the mountains towards the Smyrna side of Sipylos. The Scholiast on *Iliad* xxiv. 615, says that the Achelous of Homer was a stream Acheles which flows from Sipylos into the Smyrnaean territory. There are only four streams to which these words might apply,—the river of Bournabat, the river which flows past Old Smyrna into the north-east corner of the gulf, and two rivers between Old Smyrna and Cordelio. The most western of these streams must pass near the temple of Artemis beside which Quintus fed his sheep (xii. 311),

> *τρὶς τόσον Ἑρμοῦ ἄπωθεν ὅσον βοοῶντος ἀκοῦσαι,*
> *οὔρει τ' οὔτε λίην χθαμαλῷ οὔθ' ὑψόθι πολλῷ ;*

and M. Weber has already applied the name to this river.[1]

For my own part I find it impossible to believe that Pausanias describes the so-called Niobe on Sipylos in the words above quoted, or that his Niobe and his Cybele are identical. Those who can believe it will be able to localise more distinctly the real origin of the Niobe myth. In any case it is certain that a religious legend widely spread among the Greeks,—that the twelve children of the goddess Niobe were slain by the sun-god—was at some very early time modified by a tale connected with an appearance or a figure in the rocks of Sipylos.[2] The legend took the form that Niobe mourned till finally she was turned into stone, and that the stone continues still to weep incessantly. Pausanias (viii. 2) gives as a reason for believing in religion that the figure remains still in Sipylos to attest the truth of the legend, though men have obscured this attestation by the false addition that Niobe *θέρους ὥρᾳ κλαίειν*. This modification of the legend must have taken place in Smyrna, a fact which furnishes some slight presumption that the *λαϊνέη Νιόβη* was not far away beside Magnesia but in the lonely mountains accessible from Smyrna as well as from Magnesia. As soon as this Asiatic form had been introduced into Greek literature, its striking character gave it universal acceptance. The legend gained an entirely new meaning at the hand of Aeschylus: it ceased to be a hieratic myth and became a

[1] *Le Sipylos et ses Ruines.*

[2] Sometimes this legend contains the thought that one of the children survives or is restored to life. This suggests that the same idea underlies it as is found in the descent and return of Kora, the death and new birth of Adonis,—the idea that the annual death of nature is not a real and final death.

tragedy. Its literary history may be found in Stark: but local legend had also its history which can be traced, thanks to Pausanias's fondness for referring to his Lydian home. From him we find that in the second century after Christ, an elaborate tale was known at Magnesia, and connected with the remains on Sipylos. This form of the legend cannot, as has often been the case, be used as evidence of its original character. It has obviously grown under the influence of the literary legend; and the remains which we have above described got popular names under this influence. Much in the same style a native of the Loch Katrine district has shown me, perhaps not wholly in unbelief, the rock against which Fitzjames placed his back. It is a matter of some interest, though of no importance except for the history of local superstition and as a proof of the extent to which Greek literature had affected popular legend in so remote a district, to compare the mythic names in Pausanias with the actual localities.

In one passage (v. 13) he enumerates the monuments which prove that Pelops and Tantalus once lived 'in our country;' they are:

(1) The lake of Tantalus.

(2) The tomb of Tantalus.

(3) The throne of Pelops above the *hieron* of Meter Plakiane.

(4) The statue of Aphrodite at Temnos dedicated by Pelops.

To these may be added from other passages:

(5) The very ancient statue of the Mother of the Gods, made by Broteas son of Tantalus: this was, as we have seen, the cultus image of the *hieron* of Meter Plakiane (so Hirschfeld in Curt. *Beiträge*, p. 83).

(6) The figure of Niobe: this was either the statue of Meter Plakiane, or some rock-phenomenon as yet undiscovered among the mountains.

(7) The old city which was destroyed by an earthquake, and of which the ruins could once be seen under the waters of Lake Saloe till the water concealed them. As regards the existence of these ruins under the lake therefore, Pausanias speaks by faith and

not by sight. He does not actually name this city, but there can be no doubt that he describes the same place which is referred to by Strabo, Pliny, Aristides, &c., and which was evidently considered the home and the city of Tantalus. If that be so, we may ask why in giving the proofs that Tantalus and Pelops had once lived in the country, he omitted to name the city of Tantalus. To say that he did not believe in it is unsatisfactory, for it was, as the contemporary Aristides shows, a matter of universal popular belief, and in the whole enumeration Pausanias is simply repeating popular legend. The answer probably is that it is included in one of the other proofs, and it is easy to see which of them it is.

Aristides often speaks of the old city of Tantalus, and its disappearance under a lake, and he evidently imagined that it was in the heart of the mountains; but Aristides was not a native of the district, he was a great invalid who had certainly never gone into Sipylos and probably never been at Magnesia. He tells in vague rhetorical language a tradition that he had heard of a city older than Smyrna somewhere in the mountains. But a scrutiny of Pausanias's words shows that his city was not in the heart of the mountains. It disappeared in Lake Saloe, so that it is localised in one of a very small number of places. His Saloe is obviously not the same as his Lake of Tantalus. Now the Lake of Tantalus was in the heart of the mountains, for Pausanias says that he has seen white eagles,[1] evidently a rare species, beside it in Sipylos. There are two lakes only among the mountains. The Kara Göl, Black Lake, is a romantic pool deep among the hills, the very place to look for eagles. The Kyz Göl, Maiden's Lake, looks to a great extent artificial, is exceedingly small and in no respect impressive: probably no Greek legends are associated with it.[2] Saloe is probably the tiny lake at the foot of Mount Plakos, immediately beneath the *hieron* of Meter Plakiane, which is said to have been much larger till it was drained about forty years ago. The city which was destroyed is the acropolis that we have described: the immense ravine beneath it suggested the

[1] He probably means the Ak Baba, 'White Father,' a large bird of the vulture species.

[2] When I repeated to a friend who knows the mountains well the words of Pausanias, he said at once, "The Lake of Tantalus is the Kara Göl."

idea of the earthquake, and popular mythology completed the legend. The words of Pausanias (vii. 24) in describing the catastrophe give a good description of the locality beside the old acropolis,—*πόλιν ἐς χάσμα ἀφανισθῆναι· ἐξ ὅτου δὲ ἡ ἰδέα κατεάγη τοῦ ὄρους, ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐῤῥύη κ.τ.λ.* The word *ἰδέα* is clearly a corruption, which has crept in from the line above, but the general sense is certain.

When popular legend speaks of the Throne of Pelops, it probably means some prominent peak overlooking the wide realm that tradition assigned to his father, but which he himself was forced to abandon; like the 'Last Sigh of the Moor' over the plain of Granada. No better point could be found than the summit of the crag on which the acropolis is placed: and the little rock-shrine here might readily suggest to popular fancy the idea of a seat. This was the prominent point of a district where every rock and stone contained a reminiscence of the old legend; and Pausanias merely names the one most striking point and leaves the rest to be understood. He did not, like us, think that these few rock cuttings were the city of Tantalus. That city was for him something great and splendid, now all hid beneath the water, destroyed by the earthquake that had produced the mighty chasm. What we call the acropolis was to him only the peak whence Pelops surveyed his country. But when he mentioned the throne over the *hieron*, every one who knew the country pictured to himself all the rest. It is one of the many cases where Pausanias's words, at first brief and confusing and almost inaccurate, become clear and plain when one examines the locality. Far beneath the peak lies what we have taken as the *hieron* of Meter Plakiane, in front stretches the wide Hermus valley opening out in the direction where Ida lies, according to Aeschylus's exaggerated estimate twelve days journey away.[1]

[1] Pausanias says the throne was *ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους*. These words do not necessarily mean the loftiest point of Sipylus, but some peak which is the summit of its own mountain. The character of the acropolis peak cannot be understood from below, one must go up to appreciate its commanding nature. There are loftier peaks immediately behind it, but if one climbs these, there remain still loftier in the rear. If the statement of Forbiger that a small stream, Phyrites, flows into Lake Saloe (Pauly, *Encycl. s.v. Saloe*) were correct, it would furnish a certain proof that the lake below the site of which we are speaking was Lake Saloe; no other lake in Sipylos fulfils this con-

Where was the tomb, *θέας ἄξιος, οὐκ ἀφανής*, of Tantalus? There are practically only two tombs in Sipylos, which so far surpass their neighbours in size or beauty that popular tradition can have seen in them the tomb of the great legendary hero of the district: viz. the great cairn beneath Old Smyrna, popularly called by that name since Texier set the fashion, and the rock-cut tomb beside Magnesia. Either of these would suit the tradition well; but several arguments tell in favour of the last.

It is recognised that Pausanias was a native of Lydia, and probably of the country beside Sipylos. He rarely mentions any part of Lydia except Sipylos, whereas he apparently takes every opportunity of referring to the mountain. If he has to tell that Apollo expelled the locusts from Attica he illustrates it by the way he has three times seen locusts destroyed in Sipylos (i. 24); if he finds white blackbirds in Mount Cyllene he compares them with the white eagles he has seen in Sipylos (viii. 17). It is equally clear that he did not belong to the Smyrna side of the mountains, but was actually a native of Magnesia. For example he remarks (i. 33) that no statue of Nemesis has wings; at a later period he added a correction *Σμυρναίοις τὰ ἁγιώτατα ξόανα ἔχειν πτερὰ οἶδα ὕστερον*. But if he had been familiar as a native with Smyrna, he could hardly have failed to remember from the first the statues of the Nemeseis, almost the most sacred and representative deities of the city. On the other hand he speaks of Cleon of Magnesia as a personal acquaintance (*ἔφασκεν*, x. 4), and only a native would know so well that the Magnesians possessed the oldest statue of Cybele in the world (iii. 22).

The words *παρ' ἡμῖν* (v. 13) in the mouth of a Magnesian refer more readily to his immediate neighbourhood than to a place eight hours' journey away; and when we consider how intimate was the association between Sipylos and Tantalus among the Magnesians, and how many memorials of Tantalus they had beside them, it seems improbable that they would omit his tomb, when the beautiful grave lay so temptingly close to the city of Tantalus. It is perhaps possible to draw some

dition. But I can find no stream Phyrites mentioned elsewhere except that near Ephesos flowing into the Pagasaean Marsh, and Forbiger's account of Asia Minor is full of errors.

inference from the expression *θέας ἄξιος*, which Pausanias uses. In the cases I happen to remember, his *θέας ἄξιος* is applied to things of beauty, *e.g.* to a statue by Pythagoras, vi. 6, rather than to monuments like a cairn, simply distinguished by size; and Herodotus uses the word *ἀξιοθέητος* always in the same sense.[1] (See Stein on Herod. i. 14).

[1] The question would be settled at once if Herr Humann's opinion were correct, that the name Sipylos was restricted to the northern part of the mountains. But the people of Smyrna worshipped Meter Sipylene, and Old Smyrna was built on the slope of Sipylos (Aristid. i. p. 270). It is therefore certain that Sipylos meant the whole range of hills, both on the north and on the south side. To save any zealous explorer in future a very fatiguing climb, I may add that, in exploring the valley behind the mountain on which the 'Niobe' and the acropolis are situated, I examined a *kastro* of which travellers have spoken but never seen. It is a late stronghold, dating from the border warfare between Mohammedans and Christians.

W. M. Ramsay.

THE SITE AND ANTIQUITY OF THE HELLENIC ILION.

THERE is an interesting question in relation to Dr. Schliemann's Trojan excavations, which seems yet unsettled; it is this: when was the historical Ilion really founded? and the answer to this question involves another of considerable interest: was the historical Ilion on the site of the mythical Troy? If its foundation be recent, and in historical times, there is room for doubt as to the identity of the sites, and accordingly the ancient inquirers who denied this identity also denied the antiquity of Ilion. I propose, therefore, to review the evidence as briefly as possible by the light of recent discussions, and beg leave for this very brevity's sake to be allowed through the following argument to call the heroic city *Troy*, and the historical *Ilion*, without further specification.

Both Dr. Schliemann and I had come independently to the same conclusion on the second question just stated. He was led by his excavations, and I by a critical examination of the historical notices of the ancients, to assert the identity of the two sites, and we advanced from this to the further conclusion, that the alleged foundation of Ilion in historical times on a new site was not true, and that probably Ilion succeeded to the site and traditions of Troy without any considerable interruption. This was the general opinion throughout Greek history, till a very learned man, Demetrius of Scepsis, undertook to destroy the claims to a heroic ancestry of the Ilians, then rich and insolent through the favour of Lysimachus. Demetrius' conclusions were accepted and propagated by Strabo, and have thus passed into currency among older scholars. But most critics of

our own day, and notably George Grote, our highest historical authority, have recognised that the theory of Demetrius was not only novel and paradoxical, but based on no real and solid evidence. This theory then, overthrown by Grote's critical acuteness, received a further deathblow from Dr. Schliemann's excavations. Any one who knows even the elements of archaeology now feels sure that the site of Ilion was a site occupied in heroic and prehistoric times, as the layers of many centuries' successive remains clearly testify. As there is no other site in the Troad for which the least evidence of this kind has been, or can be, produced, the argument that Troy and Ilion occupied the same site is as surely established as any thing in ancient history.

It was accordingly worth while considering why Demetrius was so zealous to overthrow this fixed belief, and both Dr. Schliemann and I think it is to be ascribed to pedantic jealousy on the part of that author, who being himself a native of Scepsis, and anxious to claim Aeneas as a heroic ruler of that city, set himself to destroy the rival claim of Ilion to that honour. It would of course be a ridiculous hypothesis to assert that Demetrius deliberately chose a false site for Troy, through unwillingness to admit a claim which his critical conscience secretly ratified. But such a clumsy piece of psychology was no part of our argument. We only assumed that an envious pedant could persuade himself to argue a bad case, and could become so persuaded of it himself as to adopt it in the most serious earnest. Belief, as Mr. Bain says, is an affair of the will, and it would be easy in the present day to show learned men who maintain absurd propositions with the most serious zeal and a thorough conviction that they are neither unfair nor ridiculous.

It was probably the rival claims of Ilion and Scepsis to be the seat of Aeneas' dynasty that stimulated this feeling in Demetrius. His only positive ground for claiming this honour on behalf of Scepsis was the very weak argument that Scepsis was half-way between the country assigned to Aeneas in the Iliad, and Lyrnessus to which he fled when pursued by Achilles (cf. Strabo xiii. 1, § 53). So shadowy an argument could not stand for one moment till the claim of Ilion has been disposed of. For what did Homer prophesy?

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείου βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοίκεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

Of course the obvious inference from this passage was that Aeneas reigned at Troy, and so Strabo tells us it was generally understood (cf. below). It was asserted by divers legends preserved to us. Thus Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiq. Rom.* i. 53) tells of legends asserting that Aeneas returned from Italy to Troy, and reigned there, leaving his kingdom to Ascanius—a legend based on the Homeric prophecy. There are other stories (hinted at by Homer) of Aeneas being disloyal to Priam, and thus saving his own party in the city. Against these legends, and the hero-worship of Aeneas at Ilion, Demetrius had to find arguments, if Scepsis could save its mythical renown. What were his arguments, and how did he persuade Strabo, and even some modern scholars, to adopt his theory?

I will state at the outset an important distinction, the neglect of which is sure to vitiate any argument on the subject; and yet the distinction is easy and obvious enough. When the destruction of Troy is to be considered, we have two points before us, (1) was it total? (2) was it final? Both cases are exceptional enough, for to destroy any city totally is an affair of no small labour and perseverance. But even when totally destroyed, a Greek city site was sure to be re-occupied by fugitives as soon as the enemy had disappeared, and so there is hardly a case in history where even a *total* destruction was *final*. It was effected in the case of Sybaris (*α*) by turning the course of a river over the levelled buildings, (*β*) by cursing solemnly the re-occupiers of the site, or (*γ*) by a *διοίκισις*, as in the case of Mantinea. These special precautions show that the ordinary pictures, poetical or otherwise, of the total ruin of a city, in no way imply its final disappearance from among the habitations of men. The party of Demetrius knew and felt this distinction very well. For they felt themselves obliged to assert an *abnormal* destruction of Troy. Thus Strabo *ἅτε γὰρ ἐκπεπορθημένων τῶν κύκλῳ πόλεων, οὐ τελέως δὲ κατεσπασμένων*, some traces of them still remain; but Troy, he adds, was not only *ἐκ βάθρων ἀνατετραμμένη*, but all its atoms were carried away for building elsewhere—an amusing evidence of the way in which Demetrius (Strabo's authority) tried to meet the obvious objection that the site he

had discovered for Troy showed no traces of antiquity. Hence the first unproved conjecture; it was considered, even by its supporters, so weak, that they added another. According to Strabo: ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι τὸν ἀφανισμὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ ῥήτωρ (whom he quotes) εἰκάζουσι δὲ *they conjecture* that the spot was avoided on account of its evil omen, or because Agamemnon cursed it. The νεώτεροι are of course not post-Homeric writers generally, as some have ventured to translate it, but the party of Demetrius, who have with them, among older authorities, the orator Lycurgus. It is perfectly clear that he was the only earlier authority asserting the *final* destruction of Troy by the Greeks.

Thus then we are warranted in declaring that there is no evidence to prove any settled belief on the part of the historical Greeks that Troy was *finally* destroyed. Some old authorities, such as Plato, Isocrates, and Xenophon, imply their belief that it was totally destroyed by the Greeks, but no one, except Lycurgus, ever asserted that it ceased to be inhabited. The weight of Lycurgus' evidence will be presently considered.

But this is not all. Can it even be said that there was a settled belief among the historical Greeks that the destruction of Troy was total, if not final? It is indeed true that Aeschylus, Euripides, and their Latin imitators portray the destruction of Troy almost as Hebrew prophecy pictures the desolation of Tyre. But are they indeed using no poetical liberty in so doing, and are they representing a tradition on this point inflexible? Far from it. What does Strabo say—Strabo, whom the followers of Demetrius quote as so important and trustworthy? 'But the current stories (τὰ θρυλλούμενα) about Aeneas do not agree with the legends about the founding of Scepsis. For the former say that he came safe out of the war owing to his feud with Priam, "for he had a lasting feud (says Homer) with noble Priam, because Priam would not honour him, brave though he was among men," and so did the Antenoridae escape, and Antenor himself through the guest-friendship of Menelaus. Sophocles indeed in his *Capture of Troy* says that a leopard's skin was hung out before Antenor's door as a sign to leave his house unsacked.' Strabo then speaks of these heroes' distant wanderings. 'Homer, however, does not agree with these legends, or with what is told about the founders of Scepsis. For he indicates

that Aeneas *remained in Troy*, and succeeded to the sovereignty, and left the succession to his children's children.' How can the legend of the total, far less the final, destruction of Troy be called *inflexible* in the face of this famous and familiar authority? Homer was not inflexible on the point. Sophocles, the most Homeric of the tragedians, was not inflexible on the point. Polygnotus in his famous pictures in the Lesche at Delphi, illustrated the Sophoclean view of the legend, and his pictures made it known to all visitors. They all contemplate only a partial destruction, followed (according to the Iliad) by a re-occupation of the place, and a restoration of the Trojan monarchy.

Thus there was from the beginning an important addition—I will not admit it to be a variation—to the legend of the sack of Troy, which stated that the site had not remained desolate after the sack, but was occupied by the Aeneadae. Sophocles even implies that the destruction was not complete. And this no doubt was the reason why nobody through the earlier centuries of Greek history thought of denying the claim of the Ilians to represent the Troy of epic poetry. This too was the real reason why Strabo, with all his exact knowledge, mentions no other writer besides Hellanicus as having supported that claim. Everybody took it for granted.

Let us now lay aside the legend that the destruction was incomplete, and proceed to show the probability that the site was unchanged. This also was sustained by several important witnesses. Xerxes visited the place, and admired its famous relics, in a way which leaves no doubt whatever as to the then current opinion among his Greek subjects. Herodotus, by his language, indicates plainly his acquiescence in this belief. Mindarus proves the persistence of the same belief, and so does Alexander the Great. What need have we of further witness? what no one thought of questioning, no one thought of asserting. The best modern judge of evidence in Greek history, George Grote, lays it down as self-evident, that this was the general belief of the Greek world.

It is very characteristic of the pedantry of Demetrius, that he seems to have passed over this strong historical proof from the acts and the acquiescence of leading *public men* in older days, and set himself to attack the statements of a *writer*, a compiler

of local legends, who being intimately acquainted with Ilion, had set down the legends there preserved in his *Troica*, and thus given formal support to the identity of site. We do not know that he advocated a belief in a mere partial destruction; it is more than probable that he did. But it so happened that the very subject treated by this writer—Hellanicus—led him necessarily to contradict Demetrius' theory, and hence he must be refuted. He is alleged to have been over-partial to the Ilians. Surely when a man undertook to collect local legends he was not likely to succeed if he were not in sympathy with the inhabitants. He no doubt wrote down fully, without any sifting or sceptical criticism, what they had to say. Probably he was silent about Scepsis. There is no further evidence of any undue favouritism. It is clear that the main claim of the Ilians, beyond the venerable antiquity of their shrine of the Ilian Athene, was the annual pilgrimage of Locrian virgins, sent to expiate the crime of Ajax. Strabo and Demetrius object that this legend is not Homeric. It was certainly as old as the Cyclic poets. The annual sending of these virgins must have been in consequence of some misfortune which befel Locris, and according to the behest of some ancient oracle. The statement of Strabo, that it did not begin till the Persian Wars, is devoid of probability and of evidence, and even if accepted, proves the recognition of the shrine as that of Homer's Athene at that date.

This refutation then of Hellanicus being very weak, and his authority as an ancient and respectable writer being capital in the question, the modern attacks on his credibility demand our attention. We may reject the evidence of Hellanicus either on the general ground that he was an uncritical logographer, or on the special ground of his being untrustworthy in other cases where we can test his credibility. The former reason is by itself weak and insufficient, for though it might not be in Hellanicus' power to criticise with acuteness the materials before him, he might nevertheless be an honest and careful collector of legends, and this is all we require in the present case. But so much we may safely allow him, for this strong and conclusive reason, that one of the severest critics of the logographers, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, though speaking with contempt of them as a class, alludes repeatedly to this particular man, Hellanicus, as an authority of importance on local

legends. Thus in the first book of his *Roman Antiquities*, he cites Hellanicus at least four times, once without remark, once (c. 35) to differ with him, though without disrespect. But the remaining cases are more important. He says (c. 38) '*The most credible of the legends* about Aeneas' flight, which Hellanicus, of old historians, adopts, is as follows.' In the other (c. 22) he sums up the legends of the passage of the Sicels into Sicily, as they are told *ὑπὸ τῶν λόγου ἀξίων*. Who are they? *Hellanicus*, Philistus, Antiochus, and *Thucydides!* This shows that Dionysius at all events respected Hellanicus' authority, and thus contradicted in this particular case his general depreciation of the logographers. Nor need it surprise us, for Thucydides himself, who never cites other writers, selects Hellanicus alone for critical censure as to his chronology. This solitary citation clearly proves the importance of the man.

But are there not distinct cases in which Hellanicus can be shown inaccurate and untrustworthy? This is the second line of argument. Of course there are. Strabo asserts that he had made mistakes in supposing old but obscure towns in Aetolia, Olenus and Pylene, to be still undisturbed, and indeed that his whole account was marked by great carelessness (*εὐχέρεια*). This may be true, but is his ignorance of Aetolian geography any proof of inaccuracy in Trojan affairs? The proper answer is to apply the same sort of argument to his critic Strabo. It is easy enough to hoist him on his own petard. In the account of Argolis, Strabo comes to speak of Mycenae, whose ruins were then, as they now are, perhaps the most remarkable in Greece. What does the learned and accurate Strabo, whose authority is paramount with the modern followers of Demetrius, say about it, 'In later times [and he was wrong about this too] Mycenae was razed by the Argives, so that no trace of it is to be found—*ὥστε νῦν μηδ' ἴχνος εὑρίσκεσθαι τῆς Μυκηναίων πόλεως!* Here we have almost the very words applied by him to his imaginary site of Troy applied to a great and famous ruin in Greece—no Olenus or Pylene, but royal Mycenae! Thus the argument that a writer is generally untrustworthy because he has been wrong or negligent on one point applies with terrible force to Strabo himself. And yet those who attack Hellanicus on this very ground, extol the learning and accuracy of Strabo as beyond suspicion.

Let us now turn to the opposite side of the controversy, and

having sufficiently defended Hellanicus, who asserted the transmission of Troy into Ilion without change of site or continuity, let us examine the only tangible witness from older days on the side of Demetrius—the orator Lycurgus. He says distinctly that Troy, after its total destruction, has remained uninhabited to his own day. Is this statement to outweigh all the consensus on the other side? Is it not notorious that the Attic orators were loose in their historical allusions? Lycurgus is said indeed to have been steeped in legendary lore, and likely to represent the soundest opinion of his day on such a question. But so far as our positive evidence goes, he was rather steeped in the tragic literature, and so impressed by such plays as the *Hecuba* and *Troades*, that he would naturally speak in the strongest terms of the destruction of Troy. He may then have used only a rhetorical exaggeration, which would not have been seriously quoted, but for the dearth of evidence on that side of the question.[1]

But Lycurgus' statement has recently been supported by an argument of some ingenuity, which requires a moment's consideration. It has been argued that the speech in question was delivered shortly after the battle of the Granicus, and that then Ilion has just been 'impressively aggrandised' by Alexander, proclaimed a city, free of imposts, &c., so that the question of the site of Troy was at that moment prominent. This gives (it is urged) peculiar point to Lycurgus' expression, and makes it impossible that he could have used a random expression. In my appendix to Schliemann's *Ilios* I had accepted this reading of the facts about Alexander and Ilion, but I now confess that I

[1] In arguing a very strong case I am willing to concede that Lycurgus really intended by *ἀνάστατος* and *ἀνοίκητος* the total ruin and complete desertion of an inhabited site. But it is certain that *ἀνάστατος* is used rhetorically for mere political destruction, and I think it likely that as *οἰκίζειν* constantly means not to people a deserted spot, but to make a new (Hellenic) polity on a spot inhabited by barbarians or villagers, so *ἀνοίκητος* may have been used by Lycurgus to signify not the complete desertion of the site, but its disappearance from among the catalogue of Greek independent *πόλεις*. As a matter of fact even the site advocated by Demetrius, the *Ἰλιέων κώμη*, was inhabited, and probably at Lycurgus' time, for had it been lately occupied, Demetrius would not have failed to mention it. I think therefore that had Lycurgus been attacked for gross inaccuracy, he would have defended himself in this way, and replied that he was only speaking politically, and not in the absolute sense of the words.

was here in error. It is clear enough in this case that Alexander only made promises, and gave orders; even after his complete success he is still only making promises, of which the fulfilment did not come till Lysimachus took the matter in hand. The point in Strabo's mind was the close imitation (as he thought) of Alexander by Augustus, and hence he gives prominence to a matter of no real importance in its day. It is however plain that we have been translating mere promises of Alexander into facts, for let us quote what follows (Strabo, xiii. 26). He had made his first promises as he was going up into Asia (*ἀναβάντα*). *ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιστολὴν καταπέμψαι φιλάνθρωπον, ὑπισχνούμενον πόλιν τε ποιῆσαι μεγάλην, καὶ ἱερὸν ἐπισημότατον, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἀποδείξειν ἱερόν.* These words plainly convey the impression that Alexander was apologising to the Ilians for the non-performance of his early promises. Of course the mere promises of the young king were little talked of in the midst of the mighty events crowding upon the world. But the Ilians remembered them, and pressed them on Lysimachus. The coincidence of time then between Lycurgus' speech and Alexander's promises has no historical importance. Alexander's solemn sacrifice to the Ilian Athene was a traditional thing which had been so often repeated by Greek generals, that it would excite no special remark. This acknowledgment of Ilion as the real site may have been 'political and uncritical,' but it proves, if anything can prove it, that the general tradition was not that of Lycurgus' speech, but that which Xerxes and Mindarus, and probably many others, had sanctioned by solemn acts, and which no one, so far as we know, had hitherto denied. Lycurgus in fact was so steeped in Greek tragedies about the fall of Troy, that he made the very mistake above explained—*he confused utter with permanent destruction.*

There is but one more point which requires comment, and one on which there has hitherto been little disagreement. "About 190 B.C. Demetrius of Scepsis," says Mr. Jebb (*Hellenic Journal*, Vol. II. p. 26), 'then a boy, remembered Ilium to have been in a state of decay. It was a neglected place; the houses had not even tiled roofs. There is not the slightest reason to doubt this,' &c. He thinks the neglect of the Seleucids after Lysimachus' death, and the Gallic invasions,

are sufficient to account for the great foundation of Lysimachus being in this condition. Mr. Grote thought differently, and is so perplexed by the personal statement of Demetrius (which he does not question), that he proposes to re-arrange the text of Strabo, and apply to Alexandria Troas the large dimensions and grandeur which Lysimachus is there said to have given Ilion. But I think the facts which Professor Jebb has himself clearly stated point to a different conclusion. No doubt Ilion was, during most of the historical period, very insignificant, but this point, on which he frequently insists, is only of moment to those who are playing Demetrius' part, and are animated with hostility for this particular site. However, two facts from the third century B.C., and from the latter part of it, show that having once become a city, it maintained some position. About 228 B.C. some of Attalus' mercenary Gauls besieged Ilion, but were beaten off with the aid of 4,000 men from Alexandria. This shows that it was not only inhabited, but a garrison town with defences. An inscription found at Hissarlik, referred to the same time, possibly as late as the end of the third century, shows Ilion to have been *the head of a federal league of surrounding Greek towns* (Jebb, *op. cit.* p. 24). About 189 B.C. the Roman favours begin. I ask, is it likely that the head of a league of towns, which resisted a siege in 228 B.C., should have been dismantled and decayed between that date and 190 B.C.? To me it seems very improbable indeed, and I cannot but suspect that Demetrius, when speaking of the great favours of the Romans, and the rapid rise of the town, drew somewhat on his imagination to describe the miserable place which they had chosen to honour. 'These vain and overbearing upstarts,' he may have argued, 'are now great and rich, but even I remember their town a set of contemptible ruins.'

My estimate of Demetrius therefore leads me to suspect strongly this personal statement of his recollections, and to doubt whether Ilion ever fell away into this condition after the days of Lysimachus. The other escape from the difficulty, Mr. Grote's, does not seem to me so easy to adopt. But here I admit that the ground is uncertain, and that we are dealing with conjectures.

It remains for me to sum up briefly the conclusions which

I maintain in accordance with Dr. Schliemann's text and the appendix on the subject:—

1. The belief that Troy was completely destroyed, though very general, especially after the representations of the tragic poets, was not an essential part of the Trojan legend. There were traditions of the partial survival of Troy owing to the existence of a Greek party within the city.

2. The belief that the site had henceforth remained desolate was no part of the legend, and was not a necessary consequence even to those who held that the destruction had been complete.

3. The belief that Troy had survived under the Aeneadae was distinctly suggested by the Iliad, was therefore widely disseminated, and was stated as a generally received opinion even by Strabo.

4. The claim of the historical Ilion to occupy the site of the Homeric Troy, is not known to have been impugned by any writer before Demetrius (about 160 B.C.) except the orator Lycurgus, whose stray statement on this subject is against all the rest of our evidence.

5. This claim is supported in ancient times by the solemn sacrifices offered to the Ilian Athene by Xerxes (480 B.C.), Mindarus, Alexander the Great, and other generals, as well as from the statements and implications of Herodotus, Theophrastus, Dikaearchus, &c.

6. More especially Hellanicus, an ancient and respectable authority, whom the critical Dionysius quotes as of peculiar weight, reported the local evidence of the Ilians, which depended not only on old shrines and relics, but on ancient customs founded upon the undoubted belief in the historical succession of Ilion from legendary Troy.

7. There is considerable evidence that Demetrius was personally hostile to the Ilion claim (1) on account of the sudden rise and offensive conduct of Ilion towards the other towns of the Troad, backed up by royal favours from Lysimachus onward. He was hostile (2) because the claim of Scepsis to Aeneas as its founder, which he advocated, would have been destroyed.

8. There is no evidence of the historical re-foundation of Ilion, the random guess of Demetrius that it occurred in Lydian

days being merely the latest date to which he ventured to assign it. For it was old and recognised in the days of Xerxes.

9. The discoveries of Dr. Schliemann 'may be said to clinch the proof of the point for which I am now contending,' and render it certain that the Ilion of history was on the ancient site, and the inheritor of the traditions of many antecedent centuries.

J. P. Mahaffy.

ON THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES.

It is well-known how, in the spring of 1877, the German explorers at Olympia had the good fortune to dig up the chief parts of a statue which had been seen by Pausanias in the same spot, and had been described by him in the following words:—*χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον, Ἑρμῆν λίθου, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει νήπιον, τέχνη δέ ἐστι Πραξιτέλους* (Paus. v. 17, 3).

The bulk of the statue is in exquisite preservation. The greater part however of the right arm of Hermes is missing. Since the whole motive of the subject depends upon the action of the arm, speculation has been busy as to the most probable restoration of this limb.

With a view to the solution of this problem, Benndorf has collected together[1] a series of types of the Hermes and Dionysos group. His list is not exhaustive, and he seems to have passed over certain instances of importance.

My principal object in this paper is to attempt to show that a certain group of types contains the clue to the restoration of the missing arm, although they do not represent the arm in its true position; and on the other hand to show that certain types which have the arm in its true position, are untrustworthy guides as to the restoration of the attribute attached to it.

Benndorf gives thirteen figures of Hermes carrying or protecting a child. I have increased the number to about thirty, and arranged them in a tabular form. The figures thus collected may be roughly arranged in four classes.

[1] *Vorlegeblätter für archaeologische Übungen*, Serie A. (Vienna, 1879). The instances cited by Benndorf are distinguished as B. 1, B. 2, &c.

Class I.—Hermes is running rapidly, with the child in his arms, either alone, or represented in a group with Nymphs. Of this type I have twelve instances. The agreement between them is not of the kind to suggest, what is otherwise improbable, that they are copies of any work of sculpture in the round, in this position. Many of the instances clearly contain no reference whatever to Praxiteles. But it is an interesting question whether in No. 2 the coin-artist has not a distinct image in his mind of the Praxitelean Hermes, which is thus freely modified, after the fashion of Greek engravers, in order to suit the field of the coin.

The instances of this class are :—

1	B. 1. Vase in Reuss Collection.	Hermes with his legs as in running—A Nymph and Satyr on either side—child closely wrapped up, on left arm. Hermes has petasos, no caduceus.
2	B. 4. A coin of Pheneus.	Hermes and Arkas—Hermes carries a caduceus in right hand, and wears a petasos. He has a cloak, which on another coin of Pheneus is on the left arm only.
3	B. 8. Sarcophagus at Fiume.	Hermes running—the child held in both arms.
4	Lippert's *Dactyliothek*, No. 321. Leipzic, 1767.	Hermes running—the child on his arm—cloak, petasos, and talaria.
5	Spon, *Miscell. eruditae Antiquitatis*, p. 25. Lyons, 1685. Montfaucon, *L'Antiq. Explic.* i. Pl. CXLII. Gronovius, *Thes. Antiq. Graec.* ix. p. 7.	A vase signed by Salpio. Hermes runs towards a seated Nymph, holding the child in both arms.
6	Passeri, *Nov. Thes. Gemm.* Pl. LXI. Rome, 1781. Gori, *Mus. Flor.* lxxi.	Hermes carrying Dionysos closely wrapped up in his bosom—Half length only.
7	Millin, *Gal. Mythologique*, No. 226.	A bas-relief—Hermes carries child in both arms.

8	Gravelle, *Recueil de Pierres Gravées Antiques*, vol. ii. Pl. IV. Paris, 1732.	A gem—Hermes running rapidly to the right—Child on right hand, caduceus in left—Cloak and petasos.
9	A gem, which I only know by impressions.	Hermes running to the left—The child on left arm, caduceus in right—cloak and petasos.
10	*Berlin Gems*, ii. 60. Tassie, 2398, Pl. XXX.	Probably Hermes Psychopompos—A small figure on left hand, caduceus in right—petasos.
11	*Berlin Gems*, iii. 900.	Hermes running—child on left arm—Hermes has wings on his head, and ends of a taenia hanging down behind—a caduceus in his right hand.
12	*Berlin Gems*, iii. 901.	A paste, stated by Tölken to be the same as the above.

Class II.—Hermes is seated with the child in his arms. The members of this class have no apparent connection with the conception of Praxiteles.

13	B. 5. A coin of Sagalassos.	Hermes seated, the caduceus in his right hand, the child on his left.
14	B. 6. A coin of Sagalassos.	Similar to the preceding. The only difference is in the relative positions of the feet. Otherwise the two coins might represent a statue viewed from two different points.
15	Millin, *Nouv. Galerie Myth*, No. 438. Paris, 1850. British Museum, *Guide* to 2nd Vase Room, pt. i. p. 3, No. 8. *Cabinet Pourtalès*, Pl. XXVII.	A vase. Hermes seated—Dionysos stretches out his hands to a nymph.

Class III.—Hermes stands in the immediate neighbourhood of the child but does not hold it in his arms. For the sake of

completeness I insert two instances of this class, but they clearly have no bearing on the main question.

16	British Museum, Bronze Room, D. 26.	A mirror case, representing Hermes leaning against a column, and watching Dionysos who is in the arms of a nymph.
17	Millin, *Nouv. Galerie Myth.* No. 437. Paris, 1850.	Hermes leans forward, and holds out his arms to Dionysos who jumps towards them.

Class IV.—The fourth and most important class consists of those representations of the subject in which Hermes stands erect with the child in his arms. Of this class I give a list of seventeen instances, of which nine belong to Benndorf.

18	Passeri, *Nocus Thesaurus Gemmarum*, Pl. LX. Rome, 1781. Gori, *Mus. Flor.* i. lxxi. Florence, 1732. See Fig. 1.	Apparently two figures of the same gem, one being engraved in reverse. The gem is said by Gori to be a sard in the Medicean Collection. The two figures agree closely, the chief differences being due to the superior drawing of Gori. That of Gori is reproduced in Fig. 1.
19	Lippert, *Dactyliothek* (Leipzic, 1767), p. 183. Montfaucon, I. i. Pl. LXXV. Maffei, *Gemme Antiche Figurate* (Rome, 1707), vol. ii. Pl. 81. See Fig. 2.	The gem is reconstructed by Lippert into a statuette closely resembling the work of Praxiteles. The stone is stated by Maffei to be an onyx in the Strozzi Collection, and 'of the finest manner.' The agreement between this gem and the preceding is so close, that notwithstanding the fact that one is said to be a sard in the Medicean Collection, and the other an onyx in the Strozzi Collection, it is difficult not to believe either that there is in reality only one stone, or else that one is a modern copy of the other.
20	*Berlin Gems*, ii. 118.	Hermes surrenders Dionysos to a Nymph, who sits on a rock. One hand of Dionysos is down. It is not clear whether his right hand, which is held upwards, holds the caduceus, or whether the caduceus is in the field.
21	A gem in the Russian Cabinet.	Hermes presenting Dionysos to Zeus. Hermes has a cloak, no petasos. Holds child in both hands, and has caduceus in right.

22	B. 3. Statue, Farnese Gallery, according to Cavalleri (1594.)	Assuming that the engraving is in reverse, the resemblance to the Hermes is complete, except as regards the stump and the elevation of the left arm as engraved.
23	B. 7. Coin of Philadelphia.	Hermes stands erect—Dionysos on his left arm, the caduceus in his right.
24	B. 9. Votive relief at Mannheim. See Fig. 4.	Hermes holds child on left arm with drapery—child holds caduceus in right hand—Hermes a purse (?) or bunch of grapes (?) in his right—wears a petasos. A cock and goat in the field.
25	B. 10. Von Arneth. *Die ant. Gold u. Silber monumente des k. k. Münz. u. Ant. Cabinets*, Pl. XI. No. 4. See Fig. 5.	From the handle of a silver dish at Turin. The child sits on a column and holds up a bunch of grapes (?) in his right hand. The caduceus rests against the column. Hermes wears a cloak and petasos.
26	B. 11. Votive relief from Gundershofen in Alsace.	The upper part of a Roman gravestone, from which little can be made out. Hermes wears a cloak and petasos. The child has some indistinguishable object in his right hand, and an attribute in his left.
27	B. 12. Relief from Carnuntum. See Fig. 7.	Hermes holds the child, with pendent drapery on his left arm, and an obvious purse in his right hand. A goat and a caduceus in the field.
28	B. 13. Bronze statuette at Zürich.	Child on left arm, with drapery. Right hand broken off.
29	B. 14. Leaden ticket inscribed ΓΡΑΜΒΟΤΑ.	Simply a figure of Hermes holding a purse in his right hand, and a caduceus in his left.
30	British Museum, Bronze Room, C. 42. Gerhard, Etr. Spiegel, Pl. 257 B.	A mirror representing birth of Cabiri. Hermes is figured with a child on his left hand and a caduceus in his right. This figure of Hermes closely resembles the following :—
31	British Museum, Gem Room. Tassie, 2399, Pl. XXX. Millin, *Galer. Myth.* No. 211. See Fig. 6.	A gem, in the British Museum, labelled Hermes and Dionysos, but called more correctly by Millin, Psychopompos. Hermes carries a long caduceus, the end of which rests on the ground as in No. 30, and a child on his left arm. Waves in the field.

32	Gori, *Mus. Flor.* i. Pl. LXXXXIV.	A gem. Hermes seen from the right. He carries the child on his left arm, and an olive branch in his right.
33	British Museum, Gem Room.	Hermes has petasos, cloak, talaria. His left foot is on a rock, and Dionysos sits on his left knee. Hermes holds Dionysos with both hands, right hand of Dionysos on shoulder of Hermes, left hand stretched down to pick grapes (?) from a tree.
34	*Mon. d. Inst.* ii. Pl. 17.	A vase. Hermes standing, and holding Dionysos in both hands: he also has a caduceus in his right, together with a cloak, petasos, and talaria. Dionysos stretches out his hand to a Nymph.

Amongst the above I think it may be shown that the divergences of types 18 and 19 (Figs. 1 and 2) from that of the Olympian statue are such as might be expected to occur on account of either (1) unintentional variations produced by the personal peculiarities of the interpreters through whom the



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

figure must be traced back to the original, or (2) intentional variations in accordance with the conditions which regulate the translation of a subject from a statue to a gem or coin: and on the other hand, that the points of resemblance are such as might be expected to survive this double translation.

(1) As regards then unintentional variations, and (*a*) firstly, as regards the engraver of the gem. In the Roman times to which these gems probably belong, there was an extensive demand for copies of Greek works of art; but such copies would rather represent the impression left on the mind of the artist, than an exact imitation of the original. To this cause may be reasonably assigned lesser discrepancies which do not



Fig. 3.

affect the main composition, such as for example the substitution of a petasos for the wings, which I shall endeavour to establish.

(*b*) As regards unintentional variations by the engravers of the plates, all the prints of Nos. 18 and 19 are more or less infected with the Baroco style—and hence some of the distortions and elaborations.

Thus the gem engraver (assuming that these gems are derived from the Praxitelean statue) might naturally sacrifice the subtle considerations involved in the fact described at length by Dr. Waldstein[1] and accepted by Overbeck, that Hermes does not look at the child, but dreamily past him. It would be impossible to represent this fact on the scale of a gem ; and every worker in low relief is strongly tempted to represent a face either in full face or in profile.[2]

(2) As regards intentional variations due to the necessities of the case. To this cause may be assigned the omission of the stump. On the one hand the gem artist is prompted by no mechanical reasons to insert the stump, whilst on the other hand he may have preferred for artistic reasons to omit it, as leaving his main figure more clear. At the same time it should be observed that in numbers 18, 19, the *pose* of the body suggests that a stump ought to be present. While a stump supports the weight of the left arm and child, there is nothing unnatural in throwing the weight of the body on the right leg. But when there is no stump it is obvious that the chief weight ought to be thrown on to the leg nearest to the extraneous addition—that is to say on to the left leg. This may be illustrated by the analogous statue of Eirene with the Plutos child, of Cephisodotos. It may be further pointed out that in several instances the arrangement of the drapery suggests that it is spread out over an imaginary stump.

The coin No. 23 is the most important of Benndorf's types, with a caduceus in the right hand. Though no literal transcription, there is sufficient resemblance to suggest that the engraver was consciously following Praxiteles. In his anxiety to represent the pair in profile, he has turned the child in exactly the wrong direction.

The most important discrepancy between the majority of these standing figures, including those on the two gems (Figs. 1 and 2) and the statue, lies in the position of the right arm, which is uniformly held downwards. And it is impossible to deny that the large number of instances in which the arm inclines downwards would seem to point to the existence of some

[1] *Trans. Royal Society of Literature*, vol. xii. part 2, 1880.

[2] Thus in all the coins and reliefs of Athenè Parthenos, the Nike is turned from the true direction with this object.

other original, although each case taken separately admits of satisfactory explanation; as from want of space in the field as in Nos. 18, 19, 23, or from material difficulties as in the case of No. 28. But in Nos. 24 and 25 (Figs. 4 and 5) alone do we find the arm held in the position which must have belonged to it in the Olympian statue; and from these confirmation is sought for the conjectured restoration of that statue with a bunch of grapes.



FIG. 4.

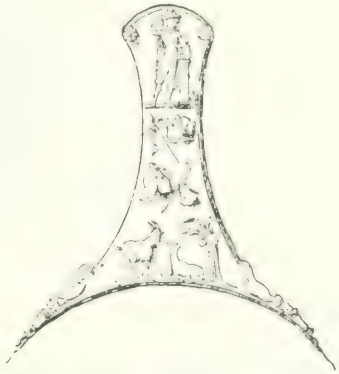


FIG. 5.

In opposition to the bunch of grapes I would suggest that the arm of Hermes was resting on a long caduceus,[1] such as frequently occurs (see, for example, Fig. 6), and which in a loose copy might be for various reasons, as for space, or for motives of composition when the stump is removed, be lightened and shortened.

The arguments for this arrangement may be stated as follows.

[1] Treu placed a thyrsos in the right hand of Hermes (*Hermes mit dem Dionysos Kind*, Berlin, 1878). Nos. 30, 31 (Fig. 6), are sufficient examples of the use of the long caduceus, although in art of pre-Praxitelean date.

Of some twenty types of a standing Hermes with the child on his arm, two represent what is said to be a bunch of grapes in the right hand, one what is manifestly a purse, all the rest a caduceus.

If Praxiteles represented a bunch of grapes, it is certain that none of the representations with a caduceus can be considered to be consciously derived from his statue; *a priori* it is improbable that only two out of seventeen representations of the subject should reproduce the Praxitelean treatment.

If these instances with the caduceus are not derived from the work of Praxiteles, it is clear that they represent the type commonly current, and it may be questioned whether Pausanias, even in his cursory notice of the Olympian figure, would describe the action of Hermes merely by the words Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει



Fig. 6.

νήπιον, if the statue were so great a departure from the established type.

From *a priori* artistic considerations the restoration with a bunch of grapes, first suggested by Hirschfeld, is generally admitted to be unsatisfactory. Treu describes it as 'Motive zu spielend und genrehaft, die Handlung etwas zu transitorisch.' It is assumed, however, by Furtwängler (*Vierzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin 1880) who figures a dancing Satyr and Dionysos from Pompeii (Helbig, No. 373) which he holds to be copied from the statue of Praxiteles. For the Satyr is represented dancing as well as playing with the child, and he therefore holds the painting to be a combination of two previously existing motives, one of which is our Hermes; apparently considering it more compatible with the character of the Hermes of Praxiteles to play with grapes, than it is with

the character of a painted Satyr to play and dance simultaneously. Overbeck admits that it is inconsistent with the fact that Hermes is looking neither at the grapes nor at the child,[1] as well as being otherwise unsatisfactory. But he is apparently convinced by the instances given by Benndorf, Nos. 24 and 25 (Figs. 4 and 5), which it therefore becomes necessary to carefully examine.

In the first place it is stated, and accepted without demur, that Hermes in No. 25 is dangling a bunch of grapes. That the object is a bunch of grapes is by no means certain, either at any rate from Benndorf's plate or from that of Von Arneth.

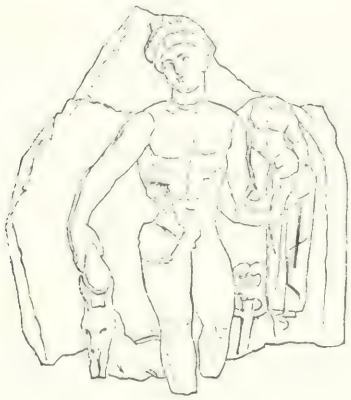


Fig. 7.

The object held up by Hermes in No. 27 (Fig. 7) is certainly a purse, while in No. 24 it resembles a purse rather than a bunch of grapes. The chief claim of the object in No. 25, so far at least as can be judged from the plates, to be considered a bunch of grapes, is derived from the attitude of the infant

[1] This is corroborated by the painting just quoted from Furtwängler in which the Satyr is looking at the fruit. Mr. A. S. Murray (*Academy*, March 18, 1882) offers the following solution: "It is objected that in such circumstances Hermes would necessarily be looking at the child. This however is not the case. His look is in fact between it and the object in his right hand: and in a restoration lately made in this country" (of which there is a copy exhibited in the British Museum) "the interpretation which has been adopted is that Hermes was represented in a moment of divided attention such as may be seen any day under similar circumstances. He tries to look at once at the grapes and at the infant Dionysos."

Dionysos. If Nos. 24 and 25 are in reality derived from Praxiteles, the position of the caduceus is significant. Whatever else may be uncertain, this at least is clear, that in the statue of Praxiteles the caduceus was neither held in the right hand of Dionysos, nor lying at the foot of the stump. Hence the caduceus in Nos. 24 and 25 must have been brought from some other place, unless it was absent altogether from the statue of Praxiteles. Whence then was it brought? The Roman Mercury was the God of Commerce *par excellence*, and in that character habitually carries the emblem of a purse. The caduceus therefore is taken out of the hand of Hermes, in order to allow him to hold the purse, and is unskilfully introduced in another place. The arm is left in position. The child in No. 25 still puts up his arms, and thence it is assumed that Hermes is holding a bunch of grapes. In No. 27 the purse is lowered to a more natural position, and the caduceus is behind with no pretext for its particular position at all. Even if the object in No. 25 is a bunch of grapes, such a change would be in character with the remaining representations on the Casserole. All these three instances are late works in which all the attributes are brought into the field, as the goat, and the cock.

In the discussion of this question it is an argument of considerable weight, when we consider the influence of family tradition amongst Greek sculptors, that in the statue of Eirene and Plutos, which is the work of Cephisodotos, the father of Praxiteles, and which is in the highest degree analogous to the Hermes and Dionysos, the arrangement of the arm is almost identical with that here indicated.[1] The sole differences are a sceptre instead of a caduceus, and a slight difference, but a difference of degree only in the elevation of the arm. After comparing the *pose* and drapery of the child in the two statues, it seems impossible to deny a connection between the two.

As regards the attribute in the left hand of Hermes, which has been assumed to be a caduceus, it may be suggested that the left hand carried a short thyrsos, which would thus be placed in the closest possible association with Dionysos. This also may be paralleled from the statue of Plutos and Eirene. In the existing copy the hand of Eirene holds a vase, but in a

[1] So Treu.

coin to which Brunn[1] drew attention, there is shown a *κέρας*, the attribute of the child, the God of Wealth. In this case the child also assists in holding the vase. It is difficult to decide the direction of the left arm of Dionysos, but if it was stretched down toward the thyrsos, this attitude would have the advantage of removing the ungraceful interruption to the outlines of the Hermes, caused by the child's hand stretching across him. The left arm of the child is placed in the manner here suggested in Nos. 2, 22, 27, and approximately in No. 28, and perhaps in No. 24. If, however, as is more probable, the child's left arm was held up, there are numerous instances, as for example the Berlin Gem, iii. 900, to show that there is no need of an attraction such as a bunch of grapes.

With respect to the head-dress, the petasos represented on the gems and coins evidently cannot have existed on the head of the statue. There are clear marks of something encircling the head, but the careful finish of parts of the hair that would be covered, and the lack of a sufficiently plain mark of a straight rim at certain places precludes the idea of a petasos. But I think that the difficulty is solved by supposing the existence of a pair of wings, in addition to the wreath assigned to Hermes by Overbeck and others. It is evident that on this theory the ancient engravers taking away with them from Olympia a reminiscence, or even a rough sketch of the Hermes, could easily reconstruct a petasos, especially if wings springing from the head alone be considered as somewhat a departure from the usual type. On examining a cast, it is seen that from a centre lock of hair over the forehead we are led up by symmetrical steps to the right and left to two distinct incisions about $\frac{3}{4}''$ long and $\frac{1}{8}''$ wide. These two incisions are at mathematically equal distances from such central points as midway between the eyebrows, or the top of the crown of the head. From these two incisions in the direction of either ear, there are two depressions strikingly similar in size and outline (Fig. 8). Above and below each of these depressions the hair rises out in more or less prominent masses, while in the depressions it is fairly smooth, and as it

[1] This conjuncture of Brunn's has within the last few weeks been established by the discovery at the Peiraeus of another copy of the figure, in which the *κέρας* is actually preserved. *Mittheilungen des Deut. Archaol. Inst. in Athen.* 1881, p. 363.

were, scooped out. These cuts seem to mark the end of the sockets of the wings which rose from these depressions. Some little way above these depressions there is a noticeable line which may be traced with more or less distinctness all round the head. This was the position of the wreath accepted by Overbeck. At the back of the head there are three sharply cut lines which are difficult to explain otherwise than on the theory of the ends of a taenia hanging downwards. For this whole arrangement of the head-dress various instances can be cited—as for example a small silver statuette of Hermes, figured by Clarac, and now in the British Museum. Small wings grow out of the head, just above



Fig. 8.

the temples; there is hair below them, and hair standing out between them. The wings rise from the temples, like the wings of Hypnos or Medusa in later art. The wings are thick. There is a large wreath passing over the head just behind this bunch, and continued right round. At the back it is fastened by a ribbon, the ends of which hang down. Summarily, the arguments in favour of these wings, wreath, and taenia, are (1) the petasos in the copies, which being in itself impracticable suggests wings. (2) The existence of two symmetrical spaces entirely appropriate as bases for wings, but otherwise unaccountable, together with marks at the back suggesting a

taenia. (3) The existence of numerous parallel arrangements elsewhere.

It is interesting to note that this arrangement of the wings is similar to that of the bronze Hypnos of the British Museum, and the Hypnos of Madrid, which have been selected by Brunn as Praxitelean in character.

On the opposite side it may be objected that the hypothesis of wings is inadmissible unless round rivet holes can be shown. What is the exact state of the original in this respect I do not know. But I would suggest that if the grooves were a little less broken at the edges, they might answer the purpose of rivet holes; and that if the wings were connected with the wreath they would not require a very firm support.

I cannot hope to have decided the restoration of the Hermes. I can only hope to have brought forward certain types, and certain facts connected with the statue, which have some bearing upon the question.

A HERMES IN EPHESIAN SILVER WORK ON A PATERA FROM BERNAY IN FRANCE.

Upon examining the rich collection of silver vessels and statuettes discovered at Bernay in the Département de l'Eure now in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, I came upon a silver patera (Pl. XXII.) with an *emblema* in the centre, upon which, in most delicate *repoussé* work, is the figure of a youthful Hermes, nude, with a chlamys hanging over his left shoulder and down by the side of his arm, a caduceus in his left hand and a purse in his right, in an attitude indicative of a slow walk, and with the head turned upwards.

The valuable discovery of this large collection of ancient silver[1] was made on the 21st of March, 1830. A Norman peasant named Prosper Taurin, while ploughing his field situated in the hamlet Le Villeret, Commune de Berthouville, Arrondissement de Bernay, Département de l'Eure, came upon an obstacle which, instead of simply avoiding as his predecessors had done, he resolved to examine. Borrowing a pick from a labourer he removed what appeared to him to be a large pebble, but what in reality was a Roman tile. When this was removed he came upon over a hundred objects in silver which were deposited on some pieces of marl at a depth of six inches, weighing considerably over 50 lbs. As with so many similar discoveries, the consideration of the weight of the silver and its value might

[1] Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général des Camées*, &c. *de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris, 1858, pp. 418—457; Raoul Rochette, *Monuments d'Antiq. Figur.* pp. 272, *seq.*; *Journal des Savants*, Août, 1830; *Nouvelles Annales publ. par la sect. franç. de l'Inst. Archéol.* Paris, 1838; R. Leprévost, *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiq. de Normandie*, t. vi.; C. Lenormant, *Bullett. dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Archéol.* 1830. Cf. also B. Quaranta, *Di quattordici vasi d'argenti dissotterrati in Pompei*, &c. Napoli, 1837.

have led to the destruction of the remains of ancient art. Luckily Taurin listened to the advice of some intelligent friends, and the attention of local archaeologists like A. Leprévost and Delahaye being drawn to the discovery, the whole collection was at last bought for the ridiculous sum of 15,000 francs for the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, through the intervention of Raoul Rochette and C. Lenormant. The patriotic peasant declined to sell it to any purchaser but a national institution of his own country.

The site of this discovery is the ancient Canetum, and the temple of which this crypt was the treasury, was that of Mercury Augustus of Canetum, 'the great god of the Gauls in whose temple are to be seen many statues' as Caesar says.[1] The difference in the number of objects as given by the authorities who have described the treasury (Leprévost, seventy; R. Rochette, over a hundred; Chabouillet, sixty-nine) is due to the fact that the first writer could not consider the find at ease; the second counted as single finds all the fragments which have since been put together. The true number is that given by M. Chabouillet. The collection comprises not only vessels and fragments but also silver statuettes of Mercury, one of which reaches the height of 56 centimetres = 1 ft. 10 in.

It struck me at first that there were two distinct classes of silver vases as well in respect of the workmanship of the *repoussé* as of the style of the subjects represented. The one class was in very prominent *repoussé*, the figures in high relief; the other flatter and lower in relief, with slight and delicate lines. The composition of the scenes and figures on the vases with high relief were very full, with no apparent blank spaces, not only pictorial but essentially decorative in character. Such were especially the Bacchic Canthari (No. 2807), and the other vases down to 2814. The compositions on the vases with low relief, however, such especially as the patera 2824, 2825, 2828, &c. were very simple, with an absence of bold and full lines, and the very opposite of decorative. The fact impressed itself upon me that the former group was, at least with regard to its style, later than these bas-relief compositions, and that, while the compositions in high relief essentially suited their purpose in being ornamental, those of the bas-reliefs, generally

[1] Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 17.

single figures placed in the centre of the emblema, were statuesque rather than decorative. And though I did not attach much weight to it at the time, I was impressed with the probability that these simple compositions were influenced by the nobler works of Greek sculpture, while the cups in high relief were ornamented with scenes of a more spontaneous composition of decorative art.

The Hermes on the emblema of the patera, No. 2824 (in M. Chabouillet's catalogue, the number now affixed to it in the Museum being 3051) conveyed to me the style of Greek art from the middle to the close of the fourth century B.C., and more especially of the sculpture of Praxiteles and Skopas. There was all the softness and delicacy of modelling of the nude human figure, the keen feeling for texture and the power of rendering the surface of the human body. Yet there was no attempt at obtruding the minute study of the anatomy upon the spectator, as is the case in the subsequent school of Rhodes and Pergamon, nor was there any of the violent contortions or the introduction of frequent rounded and restless lines of later Greek and Graeco-Roman sculpture. And finally, there was none of the conscious academic 'canonism' in the building up of the human figure, as we notice it in the works of the school of Praxiteles and the Graeco-Roman 'Pre-Raphaelites,' who wished to reproduce the simplicity of earlier Greek art and reestablish simple canons. And still there is not that simply healthy and unsentimental character in this work which marks the statues of a Pheidias and a Polykleitos. But there is distinctly in this figure the introduction of elements of sentimentality which mark the works of a Praxiteles as they characterise his age in contradistinction to that of Pheidias. I have once before[1]

[1] *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1879, pp. 435, *seq.* Prof. Overbeck, in a foot-note to page 34, lib. iv. of the new edition of his *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik*, objects to the literary part of my article, and seems especially to disapprove of the parallelism drawn between the art and age of Praxiteles, and the modern romantic period of literature, Shelley, De Musset, Heine. Professor Overbeck may possibly be right in considering Heine '*sittlich faul*'; but it may be questioned whether if he knew as much of Praxiteles, he would not apply the same epithet to him. It may be uncommon for archaeologists to compare the great past with the present, yet on some occasions it is all the same the duty of the specialist to translate, as far as truth admits, the dead past into terms of present life.

attempted to indicate this difference of character between the two great ages, while examining the Hermes with the infant Dionysos by Praxiteles. That sculpture has the means of expressing such broad differences of moods and of the fundamental tone of character of the individual artists who produce such works, must be beyond a doubt to any person of normal appreciative power, who has had time and opportunity to study the mere alphabet of this language. It is as distinct a difference of tone as exists between the melancholy rhythm of a poem by one of the romantic school as compared to the verses of Milton or Chaucer. We surely do not meet with the character and mood of the Hermes of Praxiteles in the Elgin marbles or in the Doryphoros of Polykleitos.

In the Hermes on the patera from Bernay these characteristics of Praxitelean art are to be found. First in the attitude of the whole figure, a slow and measured walk, with one foot as it were listlessly dragging after the other. Secondly, in the outline rhythm of the figure presenting that long, slow, S-shaped curve so characteristic of all the works that have been attributed to Praxiteles, together with the peculiar effect of the upturned head added to this position of the body. Finally also, in the soft modelling of the surface of the nude figure, however indicative of strength and agility the muscular forms of this youth may be, as well as in the peculiar disposition of the chlamys (repeatedly found on the replicas of the type of the Hermes of Olympia) and in the folding of this drapery.

I did not hesitate to note the relief on this patera, as being a Hermes of the Praxitelean type and style; and herein I followed the tasks which I believe special archaeologists ought to set themselves. For I did not mean thereby to assert that this was undoubtedly a reproduction of a work of Praxiteles or of some definite sculptor from his school; but only that this figure had those characteristics which, from the careful comparative study of the style of Greek works of art, so far as they have been identified, have been found to be peculiar to Praxiteles and his school.

It then appeared to me that this very figure was a familiar type, and that I must have seen and studied some other figure

very similar to it or identical with it, and upon straining my memory and attention, I recalled the figure of the Hermes upon the drum of the sculptured column from the temple of Artemis of Ephesus, now in the Elgin room at the British Museum.[1] We know that Praxiteles decorated an altar with reliefs at Ephesus,[2] and that Skopas was the sculptor of one of the drums of the columns of this temple of Artemis.[3] And when once this association was called forth, I felt convinced that this figure was an actual reproduction of the Ephesian Hermes.

Upon comparing drawings of these two representations of Hermes it becomes manifest that there is an intimate relation between these two representations, the one, the silver *repoussé*, being immediately copied from the other, the marble relief of the drum in the temple. But here the identity ends, and to suit the new destination of the silver copy, details and accessories, especially with regard to attributes and environment were altered. For in the Ephesian relief the Hermes is one of a number of figures that surrounded the column, all of them bound together by some central idea or action; while on the patera, Hermes alone is represented, and being no longer a part of a complex composition, the representation of the Hermes must in itself form a complete composition. In other words, the patera represents the typical god Hermes, the figure being borrowed from a relief representing some congregation of chthonic deities. For I agree with the writer in the *Saturday Review*[4] and with C. Robert[5] in assuming that the figures on the drum of the column represent a scene from Hades. And it is here that the chthonic side of the nature of Hermes corresponds entirely with that conception of Artemis and Hekate common to the Ionian cities and islands, especially Ephesus and

[1] Cf. E. Curtius in *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, p. 72, Pls. 65 and 66. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Frontispiece, cap. vi. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Pl.* II. p. 95. The old temple of Artemis was destroyed B.C. 356. The new temple was immediately begun and probably completed about B.C. 323. Cf. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 220; E. Curtius, *Ephesos*, Berlin, 1874.

[2] Strabo, xiv. p. 641; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, &c. No. 1283.

[3] Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 95; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, &c. No. 1172.

[4] 1873, vol. xxxv. No. 898, p. 51.

[5] *Thanatos*, *Berl. Winckelmannsfest Progr.* 1879, p. 37, &c.

Samothrace. The Hermes on the patera does not throw any immediate light upon the action of Hermes in directing his head upwards, for he is here looking at the branches of an overhanging tree. But it appears to me that in the Ephesian relief the action of Hermes in looking upward is to indicate his double nature, which though chthonic in part is essentially concerned with the world above and the actions of man and of the Olympian gods.

In order to translate onto the patera the Hermes as taken out of the Ephesian relief into a self-contained composition and a representation of the god Hermes pure and simple, the τορευτής surrounded him on all sides with all the attributes of this god. And to this desire are to be attributed the slight deviations of the figure on the silver relief from its marble prototype. These deviations are, in the first place, that while the Hermes of Ephesus has the right shoulder free and the chlamys wound round the left forearm, the hand hidden behind his back; on the Hermes of the patera the chlamys is fastened round the neck and is gracefully slung over the left shoulder, leaving the left hand free. In the second place, that while the Hermes of Ephesus holds the caduceus in the right hand, on the patera the caduceus has been transferred to the left hand and replaced by a purse in the right.

As the aim of the *repoussoir* was to bring together as many of the attributes as possible, it was important that both hands should be free, therefore the left hand could not be hidden by the chlamys, and the cloak had to be fastened round the neck and hang over the shoulder: he could thus dispose of two attributes, the caduceus and the purse. He did not leave the caduceus in the right hand, because then the purse in the left would not have stood out well against the somewhat similar lines of the drapery, and being pressed for room on the right hand he could not bring it in freely between his thigh and the square pillar on the right of the god.

The other attributes that are grouped about him are: square pillars to the right and left, a common and early monument of the worship of Hermes.[1] On his right-hand pillar is placed a

[1] Preller, *Gricch. Mythologie*, i. pp. 324, 325, *seq.*; Welcker, *Gricch. Götter-lehre*, ii. pp. 449, 456, *seq.*

cock and below him some eggs, and on the left hand a tortoise. Both cock and tortoise are frequently represented as attributes of Hermes,[1] the tortoise a reminiscence of his invention of the lyre, the cock a symbol of the god of generation. The buck to his left is a symbol of the same side of the nature of Hermes the protector and multiplier of herds, and is frequently represented on the one side of Hermes with the cock on the other on small bronzes.[2] The tree, of which part is visible overshadowing the right top, indicates the vegetation that surrounds the whole, and points to Hermes as the protector of pastures. The skill with which all these attributes are combined in this restricted space, and tend to give life and symmetry to the whole composition, points to a silver-worker of no ordinary artistic capacity.

This *emblema* was found separated from the body of the patera and was subsequently fitted into it. So also was added a circular rim with the inscription, DEO. MERC. IVL. SIBYLLA D.S.D.D. (De suo dat dedicat). Though this dedication most probably belongs to the patera there is no doubt that it is later than the making of the emblema. There can be no doubt that the artists in such silver work merely made the emblemata or medallions which they furnished to the commoner silversmiths who soldered them into the body of such a plate. Such medallions are actually mentioned by Pliny,[3] and that the separate working of the ornamented parts was practised in antiquity is evident when we find that even in the lower phases of art this was the case. So the Gorgon's head on the centre of a shield was beaten out of a separate piece and fastened to the front, as is evident from the passage in Aristophanes,[4] in which we hear of this medallion flying away from the shield, and even from instances which point to the fact that the central decorated part of vases and lamps were made separately and then fitted into the rest of the lamp.[5]

[1] Cf. Preller, i. 338; Welcker, ii. 449, *seq.*

[2] On another silver vase of the same collection (Chabouillet, *Cat.* No. 2822) there is a Hermes seated on a heap of stones with all these attributes surrounding him. A small bronze in the Bibl. Nat., given by M. Dupré. A bronze in the Louvre, No. 225, &c., &c.

[3] *N. H.* xxxiii. i. 54.

[4] *Acharnians*, 1180, *seq.*; the speaker is the servant of Lamachus.

[5] M. C. Lecuyer at Paris procured some years ago a terra-cotta mould or

The next and most interesting question is: What is the connexion between a Hermes from Ephesus and a silver patera from the north of Gaul? or rather, since there is an undoubted connexion, the one being the original and the other the copy, how can we account for the presence of a comparatively early work from Ephesus on a donation to a temple of Mercury in the north of Gallia belonging to a late Roman period? This would be most clearly accounted for, if we could assume that the Romans were fond of and preserved old Greek plate as we value cinque cento Italian plate; secondly, if such plate was in antiquity chiefly produced at the place where the original model of the figure on the patera was preserved, and if it was customary for such silver workers to reproduce the designs of the great sculptors and painters, and of such works as the Hermes under consideration in particular.

In our case these circumstances are not only possible, but even the most probable. With regard to the first condition we learn from Pliny,[1] that in his time the art of beating silver had gone out, an art which had reached high perfection in Greece before his time, and had supplied the wealthy Romans with costly ornaments. The works of these old masters in silver *repoussé* were highly valued, and he mentions exceedingly high prices for some old Greek plate paid chiefly, as he says, for the antiquity of the work, so that sometimes these were valued most highly even if the design were almost entirely effaced. We shall therefore not be astonished to find early Greek work in a late Roman community. With regard to the second point we find that Pliny mentions among these famous Greek *repousseurs* a great number who were from Ephesus,[2] the works of the greatest of whom, Mentor, were destroyed during the destruction of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. With regard to the third point finally, we learn[3] that Mys, the most famous toreutes after Mentor, executed his works in silver chiefly after the design of the painter

stamp of a medallion in which a small projection corresponded to the hole for the wick of a lamp. Some years subsequently he found a lamp on which was this very medallion. A similar instance was shown me by Mr. C. Smith at the British Museum.

[1] Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiii. 157. Subitoque ars haec ita exolevit, ut sola iam vetustate censeatur usuque attritis caelaturis, ne figura discerni possit, auctoritas constet.

[2] Pliny, xxxiii. 154.

[3] Paus. i. 28, 2.

Parrhasios of Ephesus. But the most important information in this respect is given by the New Testament in the Acts of the Apostles (xix. 23, &c.), from which we learn that the profession of silversmith was the most widespread at Ephesus and that great gain came to them from the production in silver of small copies of the temple (*ναός*) of Artemis. Now it is on the drum of a column of this very temple of Artemis that the relief of Hermes is found, which is the original of that on the patera of Bernay.

Thus we can see how a piece of Ephesian silverwork was brought to Gaul by the noble Roman governor or by some merchant, and there dedicated to Mercury. Having traced this patera back to Ephesus, there are still two possible ways in which we can account for the copying of the Hermes; the one is that either the *repousseur* of this patera was at the same time the sculptor of the drum; the other is, that the silversmith merely copied the design of the sculptor. The first supposition is improbable, though we know that silversmiths like Mentor were also famed as sculptors.[1] The second is the more probable, especially when we bear in mind that the Ephesian silversmiths were continually employed in making miniatures of this very temple, and that, when they had to make an *emblema* of a patera, they would naturally place on it one of the figures which they were in the habit of beating.[2]

[1] Cf. Apollinar. Sidon. *Carm.* xxiii. 503, Overb. *S. Q.* 1189, Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiii. 154, Overb. *S. Q.* 1612.

[2] Mr. C. T. Newton has directed my attention to an inscription found in the Great Theatre at Ephesus, and published in Mr. J. T. Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, pp. 1—30. It chiefly records resolutions with regard to the munificent gifts of one Vibius Salutarius to the temple of the great goddess. In this inscription distinct mention is made of three classes of gifts: money (named by the various coins) *εἰκόνες*, and *ἀπεικόνισματα*. Εἰκών distinctly means statue. It is not quite clear what *ἀπεικονίσμα* means. It most probably meant a copy of an *εἰκών*, but from the context of several passages in this inscription we must be inclined to consider it possible that the word was used in a general sense to mean all kinds of valuable figure-work of art (*Bildwerke*, not *Bildnisse*) that were not statues in the round. For instance, in the passage, ... *ἐκ τοῦ προνάου τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπεικονίσματα ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου εἰς τὸν πρόναον αὐθήμερον δη* , with which something is to be done on the day of the feast of the goddess, we are reminded of the inventory of the treasury of the Athene Parthenos, in which were images and costly and beautiful vessels of silver. Whether *ἀπεικόνισμα* means



It is not often that the far-reaching results of a simple application of the comparative study of style become so palpably visible and appreciable as in the case of this identification. Nor are there many instances in which the poetry which accompanies a special study, popularly reported to be "dry as dust," so forcibly impresses itself upon us. The recognition of certain facts before unrecognised, and the establishment of truth within a certain group of things and their relation, is no doubt in itself the immediate and supreme aim of research. Yet it is none the less refreshing occasionally to cast a side-glance at the artistic aspect of what has been sought simply for the truth's sake, and to see the poetry that surrounds the discovery of truth.

We cannot but be impressed with the amount of history that seems to be condensed into the narrow compass and the material forms of this small plate. Its form and its history are large chapters of the world's history in miniature,—unverbal, without letters, lines, and pages.

It contains a Greek Hermes, reproduced by an Ephesian *toreutes*, from the temple of Artemis of Ephesus, valued highly for its origin and antiquity by some noble Roman, who followed the sweep of his Empire's conquests, and whose wife in the far north of Gaul dedicates it to the Latin Mercury. It affords an actual tangible illustration to a passage in the New Testament; thus bearing in itself some immediate relation to the worship of the Hellenes, the Romans, and the Christian world. Who knows what use it served at feasts, religious or domestic, in antiquity, and what tales it could tell!

And then it was buried for centuries in the treasury of Mercury of Canetum, whose temple Caesar saw, through all middle ages, while the hoof of a knight's horse may have trodden over its crypt, quietly resting unchanged, while dynasty followed dynasty, and the French Revolution swept over the country, until a Norman peasant, in the nineteenth century ploughing his soil to raise corn to be sent to Paris or some foreign market,

the copy of a statue, or is here used as a general term for articles of value that are decorated with figures in relief—in both cases this Ephesian inscription is interesting in its relation to the Bernay patera, being a contemporary allusion to such silver works of minor art.

comes upon it and unearths it, until it finds its place in the Museum in the Rue Richelieu.

What a mass of associations, different in character, in time, and space, are gathered in the centre of this cup.

We may be allowed for once to feel gratified at the power of the simple application of systematic observation, which can pierce through the mist of over two thousand years, can baffle the complex maze of the change of history, and of thousands of miles of distance, in tracing a cup found in the nineteenth century in the North of France, back to its origin in a time preceding the Christian era in Ephesus of Asia Minor.

C. WALDSTEIN.

HERMES WITH THE INFANT DIONYSOS.

BRONZE STATUETTE IN THE LOUVRE.

THE before unpublished bronze statuette here reproduced in its original size, No. 655 of the collection of bronzes in the Museum of the Louvre, is called,[1] by the late M. de Longpérier, 'Nero carrying Britannicus on his left arm.' This distinguished and meritorious archæologist herein followed a tendency prevalent in former days of readily seeing the portrait of some historical person, especially a Roman Emperor, in purely ideal monuments.

It will be seen at a glance that we have in this work a representation of Hermes with the infant Dionysos, and moreover a modified replica of the statue of Praxiteles discovered by the Germans in 1877 at Olympia. Though there are some modifications, this statuette is the closest reproduction of the work of Praxiteles of all the replicas that have come to my knowledge.

If we bear in mind the extremely small dimensions of this figure (a little over three inches) and its present state of corrosion, we can but be struck by the exquisiteness of the modelling and the close reproduction of some of the artistic qualities of the great work of Praxiteles.

The qualities of the Praxitelean work noticeable in this reproduction are, in the first place, the general attitude of the figure, the general outline with a curve in the right hip, and the position of the legs; and in the second place,

[1] *Notice des bronzes antiques du Louvre*, p. 154. Paris, 1879.

the modelling of the nude, especially about the waist and in the thighs.

In this small replica of a statue over life in size, there are several deviations from the original. First, the child appears more turned away from his protector; though considering the minuteness of the dimension its whole attitude, with its right hand on the shoulder of Hermes, is comparatively accurate. Secondly, the chlamys which in the marble statue is hanging over the stem of the tree, leaving the left shoulder of Hermes bare, is here fastened round his neck. This change is accounted for by the fact that in the statuette the tree-stem has been omitted and no freely suspended parts of the chlamys have been allowed to hang under the hand of Hermes. The chlamys had thus to be fastened round the neck, if it were not to appear a formless mass between the arm of Hermes and the child. Thirdly, the right arm and shoulder of Hermes are in a lower position than in the statue. I at first considered it a great loss that the right arm of the statuette was not perfect; for I thought that it might have given us some direct information concerning the position of the right arm of the Praxitelean Hermes and the attribute held in the right hand. Though I believe that the right hand of the bronze most probably held a short caduceus (which, if extant, would have been in favour of Mr. A. H. Smith's conjecture), it is evident that the sculptor of the statuette could not in so small a work reproduce a freely uplifted arm supported by a thin long staff. In so small and portable a work this would immediately break away. He therefore lowered the arm.

In three points this statuette can throw valuable light upon the work of Praxiteles. In the first place, it definitely indicates the position of the legs below the knee that are wanting in the marble. In the second place, though the modeller of the statuette has not been able to reproduce the delicate pose of the neck, we can at least learn from this statuette, what a careful examination of the marble statue will tell us, that Hermes is neither looking at the child nor at anything held in his own hand. Hermes is looking straight before him, and surely when we look straight ahead, while a child on our arm endeavours by movement to attract our attention, this is the clearest and most manifest outer sign of inner dreaming and

abstraction. What the normal relation between the child in the arms of a man playing with it, is, is illustrated by the frequent replicas of the statue of Silenus and the infant Dionysos (in the Uffizi at Florence, the Glyptothek at Munich, the Louvre at Paris, &c.). The assumption that Hermes held a bunch of grapes in his right hand to entice his little ward[1] would alter the whole evident character of the composition. It would become a *genre* scene in which the relation between child and grapes would be the centre of interest. While as a matter of fact Hermes is evidently the centre of interest, and the infant Dionysos is, both in spirit and execution, purely accessory. Moreover, neither the infant Dionysos nor Hermes is looking at the grapes, which would be necessary if the scene were to have any meaning.

Finally, the statuette is interesting in that it supports the conjecture of Mr. A. H. Smith, that the Hermes of Praxiteles may have had bronze wings attached to the head. For in the statuette Hermes has such wings with a strange elevation in the centre. Like the marble Hermes of Olympia, this bronze has a thin groove running from both sides of the wings round the back of the head above the neck, which seems to indicate a band by which the wings were fastened. Probably the same depression in the marble Hermes contained the bronze band which served to hold and fasten the bronze wings above the forehead.[2]

Wings are also to be found on a marble Hermes similar in size and in many other respects to the Olympian statue to which I should like to draw the attention of archæologists. I have only seen the cast in the collection of the Beaux-Arts at Paris,

[1] Cf. Overbeck, *Gesch. der Plastik*, 3rd ed., vol. ii. p. 37, *seq.*

[2] M. Aub. Héron de Villefosse, of the Louvre Museum, has kindly sent me the following note on this point: "*Je ne vois derrière la tête de la statuette aucune couronne, ni bandeau, ni ruban. Du côté droit de la tête, cependant, on peut sentir une légère dépression, qui se continue sous la nuque et se remarque aussi à gauche; elle forme comme la trace d'un serre-tête qui aurait servi à maintenir les deux petits ailes surmontant le front. Mais cette trace est à peine visible et n'a la largeur ni d'un bandeau ni d'un ruban. C'est plutôt une dépression dans la chevelure, à la place même où le ruban devrait se trouver si l'artiste l'avait figuré.*" As in the marble this band was of bronze, so in this bronze it was most likely inlaid in another material, silver (a very frequent occurrence in small ancient bronzes). The description corresponds exactly with what we see in the head of the marble statue.

and it is reported to be in the Boboli Gardens at Florence. There merely remains the upper part of the figure above the thighs. Hermes holds the infant Dionysos awkwardly on his *right* arm. May not the statue have been found in fragments and have been patched up (as was continually done with such works) and thus the infant, found separate, have been placed on the right arm instead of the left?

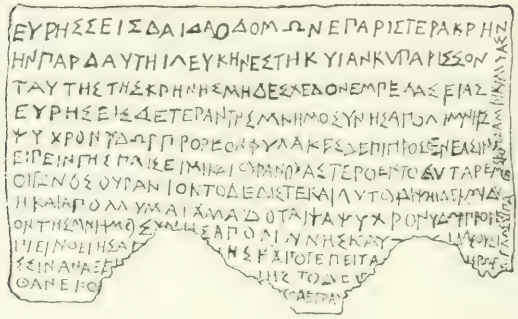
C. WALDSTEIN.

THE PETELIA GOLD TABLET.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. Newton I was informed that the British Museum is now the possessor of an inscribed gold tablet found on the site of the ancient Petelia, in Southern Italy, which had been considered as lost after the death of Millingen, to whom it first belonged. The inscription was published by Franz in 1836,[1] and after him by Göttling;[2] afterwards it appeared in the third volume of the *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* No. 5,772, and recently again in Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapid.* No. 1,037. Franz's first reading, from the original, was not quite satisfactory, and the modified reading given by him afterwards, and by the others, was not founded on the inspection of the original, a fac-simile of which was never published. Recent discoveries having thrown a new light on this monument I was glad to hear of its existence in the British Museum, and Mr. Newton kindly favoured my wish of seeing it published again more completely and exactly, with a fac-simile. He entrusted this task to Mr. Cecil Smith, to whose skilful accuracy we are indebted for the fac-simile here published, representing the monument slightly larger than its real size, as well as for the following explanatory note on the reading of the inscription.

[1] *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corr. Arch.*, 1836, p. 149.

[2] *Narratio de Oraculo Trophonii*, Jen. 1843, and *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, i. 166, *sq.*



Εὑρήσσεις δ' Ἀίδαο δόμων ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κρήνην
πὰρ δ' αὐτῆι λευκὴν ἑστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσον·
ταύτης τῆς κρήνης μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἐμπελάσειας.
Εὑρήσεις δ' ἑτέραν, τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φύλακες δ' ἐπίπροσθεν ἔασιν.
Εἰπεῖν· γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον· τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί·
δίψηι δ' εἰμὶ αὖη καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης·
Καὶ[τοί σο]ι δώσουσι πιεῖν θείης ἀπ[ὸ κρήν]ης,
καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἄ[λλοισι μεθ'] ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[ς
.....ιης τόδε.....θανεῖ(σ)θ[αι
..... τόδ' ἔγραψ[εν ?]..... ..
.....σκότος ἀμφικαλύψας.

[My facsimile differs from Kaibel as follows:—

Line 1.—Εὑρήσσεις. The double σ is quite plain; Kaibel reads εὑρήσεις.

Line 1.—κρήνην. Kaibel reads [κρήν]ην.

In line 5 the **E** and the **Θ** of προσθεν have been run together—**ΣΘΝ**.

Line 6.—γῆς παῖς εἰμι. Kaibel reads ...εῖ σ[ὺ], but the **MI** is quite clear. Göttling had already suggested **EIΣI**.

Line 6.—ἀστερόεντος. Kaibel reads ἀστερόεντο[ς], but the σ is plainly written beneath the **A** of αὐτὰρ.

Line 7.—αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ, *not* αὐτὰρ ἐ[γὼ]. Franz read **EN** as ἐγώ. Kaibel suggests ἐμόν or ἐμοί, but reads as Franz.

Lines 7–8.—*αὐτοί· δίψηι.* The final *ι* of *αὐτοι* is written over the following Δ.

Line 8.—*εἰμὶ αὔη.* The Υ is not very plain, but the Α is quite clear.

Line 10.—Kaibel's *καὐ[τοί σοι δω]σουσι* is more probable than *καί σοι ἱπτερὲώσουσι* of Franz; the ΔΩ is plain on the gold.

Line 11.—*ἡρώεσσιν, not ἡρώ[ϵ]σσιν.*

Line 12.—Kaibel's *θανεῖσθα[ι]* seems probable, but the *σ* is not at all clear.

Line 13.—ΤΟΔΕΓΡΑΥ. These letters are plain. Kaibel reads here ΛΛΕΙΜ.

No one seems hitherto to have noticed that there has been a thirteenth line, written from bottom to top of the right edge of the plate; the fact that this line frequently encroaches more or less on the space allotted to the main inscription, has been one cause of uncertain readings with Kaibel and others: *e.g.* line 6, *αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ*; line 7, *εἰμὶ αὔη*; line 10, *ἡρώεσσιν.* I have been unable to reconstruct this line, owing to the crowded arrangement of some letters and the loss of others where the gold has been worn flat; but the final word seems tolerably certain.

CECIL SMITH.]

The inscription is not, as was generally supposed,[1] the response of an oracle sending somebody to the cave of Trophonios, or giving an answer to a question on what is impending over human souls after death. It is an abstract from a poem containing the mystic belief of the ancient Orphics and must be compared with other gold tablets of the same kind and epoch, which were found a few years ago in some tombs in the same region of Italy. They were published with my reading and interpretation in the *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* for 1879 and 1880.[2] This Italian publication not being commonly accessible in England, I think the readers of this Journal

[1] I must except M. Bouché-Leclercq (*Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, iii. p. 381), who expresses a more correct opinion.

[2] See also Lenormant, *La Grande Grèce*, i. 321, 385.

may be not unwilling to see the contents of those tablets reproduced here.

They were found in the territory of the ancient Sybaris, and are five in number; there is hope that many others may come to light in further excavations, from the very numerous yet unexplored sepulchral mounds still called by the Italian inhabitants of that country *timponi* (τύμβος). Two of them were found in a single tomb, folded together, close to the skull of the skeleton. One of these bears an inscription written in Greek letters, which required for their interpretation a secret key which I was unable to find out. Still, some names of the orphic Pantheon can be recognised in that curious confusion of Greek writing, such as Πρωτόγονος, Γῆ παμμήτωρ, Κυβέλη, Κόρη, Τύχη, Φάνης, though some of them are uncertain. The other tablet is perfectly intelligible, and runs as follows :—

Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν ψυχὴ προλίπῃ φάος ἀελίοιο
δεξιὸν ἐ[νν]οίας δεῖ τινα πεφυλαγμένον
εὖ μάλα πάντα. Χαῖρε, παθὼν τὸ πάθη—
μα τόδ' οὔπω πρόσθε ἐπεπόνθεις· θεὸς εἶ
ἐ(λεει)νοῦ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου. ἔριφος ἐς γάλα
ἔπεσες. Χαῖρ(ε), χαῖρε δεξιὰν ὁδοιπορ(ῶν)
λειμῶνάς τε ἱεροὺς κατ' ἄλσεα
Φε[ρ]σε[φ]ονείας.

The deceased is addressed by another person initiated in the same mysteries, who, together with his own speech in prose, quotes verses or portions of verses from a poem containing the principles of their common belief on what the soul of the initiated must expect after death. The judge of the souls (just as in Pindar,[1] where this poet alludes to mystic belief in his second Olympian ode) is not named, but only alluded to by the indeterminate pronoun τί,. The initiated dead is considered as having rightly performed all his duties, and therefore as deserving the beatitude which Persephone promises to purified souls. Earthly life, according to Orphic doctrine, being only a punishment to our soul whose origin is divine, and the human body being only a tomb to her (σῶμα, σῆμα), death is

[1] τὰ δ' ἐν τᾷδε Διὸς ἀρχᾷ ἁλιτρὰ κατὰ γᾶς δικάζει τις ἐχθρᾷ λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκᾳ.

here contemplated as a happy occurrence, for which the deceased is congratulated; using a symbolic expression of their own mystic language, he is compared to a kid falling into milk, that is to say, obtaining plenty of the only thing he was longing for.

The quotation at the beginning is interrupted at a certain point, as would be the case if one were recalling to another's mind a well-known text. The second verse is metrically disfigured by the interpolation of *δεῖ τινα*, required by the sense, and evidently taken from a further verse. The extremely bad verse *χαῖρε, παθὼν τὸ πάθημα, κ.τ.λ.*, is to be attributed to the writer of the tablet, who may have used some fragment of mystic verse. The metre of the last verse is lame; its original form was, I suppose, *λειμῶνάς θ' ἱεροὺς κατὰ δ' ἄλσεα Φερσεφονείας.*

The other three tablets were found in three different tombs lying near the skeleton's right hand. Their contents are partially identical; but they are full of errors and omissions, to such an extent that one of them, which is written on both sides, would be almost totally unintelligible if the other two were not at hand for the restitution of letters, words, hemistiches, and whole verses which are wanting. I give here my reading and restoration of the whole contents of the three, distinguishing with the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, the parts which are peculiar to one or two :—

Ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν, καθαρὰ χθονίων βασίλεια,
Εὐκλῆς, Εὐβουλεύς τε [θεοί τ' εὐδαίμονες ἄλλοι]
Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὔχομαι εἶναι,
b, c. Ποινὰν δ' ἀνταπέτισ' [ἄντ'] ἔργων οὔτι δικαίων,
Εἶτ' ἐμὲ Μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι
(βροντῇ) τ' ἀστεροπῇ τε καὶ (αἰθαλόεντι) κεραυνῷ.
a. Κύκλου δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο
Ἱμερτὸν δ' ἐπέβαν στέφανον ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι
Δεσποίνας δ' ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας.
b.c. Νῦν δ' ἱκέτης ἁγνὴν ἥκω παρὰ Φερσεφόνειαν
Ὡς με πρόφρων πέμψῃ ἕδρας ἐς (τὰς μακαριστὰς)
Εὐαγέων...
a. Ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστὲ, θεὸς δ' ἔσῃ ἀντὶ βροτοῖο.
ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπεσον.

Here it is the deceased's soul who addresses Persephone and the other infernal gods. Two of these are mentioned with their

mystic surnames, Εὐκλῆς, Εὐβουλεύς; this last is Aïdes; the other may be supposed to be the infernal Dionysos or Zagreus of the Orphics. The soul declares in her first words that she comes from amongst the *pure men*, namely from the men whose souls were purified by the initiation, by the καθαρμοί, and by all the practices of the mystic life and ritual. She is purified from the original guilt which is alluded to in the following verses, where the main principles of the Orphic doctrine on psychogony and metempsychosis may be recognised. The human soul is of divine origin, but the gods from whom she most directly proceeds are the Titans. These having torn to pieces the sacred body of Zagreus, Zeus punished them with his thunderbolt and reduced them to ashes, from which human souls emerged. But, as the Titans had been eating from the flesh of Zagreus, a spark of good, pure divinity is in us mixed with Titanic evil and impurity. This Titanic element is the original guilt for which the human soul is excluded from the community of the other gods and from her blessed abode, and is condemned to a succession of births and deaths which the *mystae* called κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως or τροχός, and which is the κύκλος alluded to in the inscription *a*. This succession of mortal lives full of pains and sorrows can only find its end through initiation and performance of all the duties and rules for purification, of all the καθαρμοὶ and the τελεταὶ that the mystic religion imposes upon its adepts. Then, cleared of all impure elements, on leaving the unhappy and unworthy prison of the mortal body, our soul returns for ever to her godlike nature and existence.

Seen in this light the Petelia tablet can be easily understood. Franz's supposition that it came from a tomb may be now considered as certain. It belongs evidently to the same epoch as the others, as may be seen from the forms of its letters. The case of two letters running into one another, making a single sign, is common to this and the others. As for the contents, they evidently belong to the same circle of mystic and especially Orphic ideas. The Titanic origin of the soul is here explicitly affirmed; it is well-known that the Titans were the sons of Uranos and Gaea. The spring whose name is not mentioned is evidently the Lethe of the common belief. The soul of the initiated must avoid this spring, leaving it, as I understand, to the crowd of souls who lived and must still

live in oblivion of their divine nature. But there is another spring kept by watching guards and reserved for the privileged souls of the initiated. These obtain admission to it by pronouncing the prescribed words. In opposition to the other, this infernal spring peculiar to the Orphic doctrine (and mentioned here for the first time) is called the spring of *Memory*, I think because it renders the soul fully conscious of her divine nature, and opens to her the blessings of immortal existence. The nature of the verses contained in these tablets, and a comparison of what is common or different in them, show that they cannot be considered as made on purpose for the occasion, but are taken from the various books of the Orphic canon: they were, it seems, picked up here and there without any other rule than that of choosing verses more especially referring to the future life. We cannot say which exactly were the Orphic poems from which the verses of the other tablets were taken; but for the Petelia tablet, where we see directions given to the soul as to her descent to Hades, we may remark that in tenor it exactly corresponds to the title Εἰς Ἅιδου κατάβασις which was borne by one of the Orphic poems, commonly attributed to Prodikos of Samos; see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 360.

These curious and important monuments reveal to us, I think, the work of those Orphic apostles called ὀρφεοτελεσταί, so sharply stigmatised by Plato (*Rep.* ii. 364 B; see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 643) who used to go about with a heap of books attributed to Musaeus and Orpheus, converting not only private men but whole towns (πείθοντες οὐ μόνον ἰδιώτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις), teaching how the souls of the initiated could be absolved from all sins, in life as well as after death, promising every kind of happiness to their adepts, frightening the uninitiated with horrible prophecies. It is well-known how Orphism, as well as Pythagorism, was dominant in Magna Graecia, not only amongst intellectual men, but also amongst the common people, and in its most superstitious form and usages. To this popular spread of Orphism belong these gold tablets, so incompletely and incorrectly written as sometimes to look like a kind of amulet sold by mystic charlatans. That fever of Bacchic and Orphic mysticism lasted a long time in Magna Graecia; some Greek apostle communicated it to Etruria, and it invaded Rome too, where it

took such proportions as to necessitate the celebrated *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus*. The execution of this act was carried out with strict rigour and severity, not only in Rome, but in Magna Graecia also, where those mystic doctrines and secret associations had their principal seat. We still possess the well-known promulgation of that act of the Roman Senate to the Teuranians, found at Tiriolo, in the same region of Southern Italy as that in which these tablets were found.

The *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus* being of 186 B.C., we may consider these tablets as anterior to that date. Some painted fictile vases, found in the same tombs, are of the kind commonly considered as not older than the third century before our era; and this is the presumptive age of the tablets. The writing is perfectly in accordance with this date; the lunated or circular forms of the letters ε, σ, ω, are still totally absent from all of them; Orphism appears in them still free from the Egyptian or Semitic elements which were intermingled with Greek mystic belief in later times. The production of apocryphal poems of that kind began at least as early as Onomakritos (sixth century) and continued during several centuries; it was in full bloom in the time of Aristophanes and Plato; it is therefore difficult to say to what time the poems from which the verses are taken belong, more especially as the usual criterion for such inquiries cannot be used for productions like these, which have no literary pretension or reputation, and which are handed down to us in a form so evidently corrupted. As far as I can judge from certain peculiarities, as δεξιὸν ἐννοίας, ταύτης τῆς κρήνης, &c., I think they cannot be older than the time of Euripides. They were, no doubt, all written in the Epic-Ionic dialect, certain Dorisms which occur here and there being only due to the Doric hand which wrote the tablets.

D. Comparetti.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM NACOLEIA.

NACOLEIA is situated at the western border of the wide treeless plain which extends over the greater part of northern Phrygia and Galatia. In front of it north and east lies the great valley, which is drained by the river Sangarius or Sagaris: behind it are the Phrygian mountains, in which are the most important remains of the old Phrygian kingdom about six hours' journey away. The ancient city was placed on an isolated hill at the mouth of a glen bordered by higher hills: the modern town of Seid-el-Ghazi lies below this hill in the glen. A very fine old mosque, which would well reward careful examination, is placed far up on one of the higher hills:[1] in it are buried Seid-el-Ghazi, the Arab general of Haroun al Raschid, and his wife the Greek princess. Much interesting information about these personages, and about the later history of Nacoleia, may be found in Mordtmann's paper, *Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1860.[2] It is unnecessary to repeat anything that has been already said by him about the city, which plays a considerable part in later Roman history and was the scene of several important battles.

The name is derived by Stephanus from Nacolos son of Daskylos, or from the nymph Nacole: it is difficult to assimilate it with any class of Asian or Greek names.

Between the decay of the native Phrygian art and the

[1] We reached the place on June 3 just before sunset, and had next day a nine hours' journey before us. My time was occupied in copying nineteen inscriptions, and I could not visit the site of the old city.

[2] Mordtmann is however quite wrong in thinking that Akroinos was a Byzantine name of Nacoleia. The bishopric of Akroinos is mentioned in *Not. Episc.* iii., x., and xiii.: but in both iii. and x. Nacoleia is also mentioned as a metropolitan see.

Imperial time, there are no monuments or inscriptions to be found in the country; and the history of Phrygia is almost unknown. It can be reconstructed only by observing the change in the great cities of the country, the decay of old and the bloom of new ones, and thence gathering evidence about the policy of the Greek rulers. Of two hundred and fifty Greek inscriptions which I have copied in Phrygia, only one belongs to the Greek period: and it is evident that Greek civilisation and social organisation had hardly affected the country before the Roman period. The relations between Nacoleia and Orcistos, revealed to us by a long inscription at Orcistos (C. I. L. III. p. 63), throw some light on this transition time. Orcistos was originally a much more important place than Nacoleia. It lay on the direct road across Asia Minor by Gordium, Pessinus, and the Midas city, *i.e.* it lay on the 'Royal Road' and shared in all the commercial advantages that resulted therefrom. Hence the inhabitants boast of their ancient splendour and of the kings of early time connected with their city: in these kings Mommsen (*C. I. L.* iii. p. 67) rightly understands the old Phrygian dynasty of Gordius. But when the centres of civilisation altered and the 'Royal Road' sank into decay, Orcistos decayed also. The inscription speaks of the four roads which passed through it, but, as Mommsen observes, it is implied that the roads were long abandoned and deserted. Nacoleia, on the other hand, gained just as Orcistos lost; important roads of a later time passed through it, and one of these is still among the chief routes of Asia Minor. The town was thirty Roman miles[1] south of Dorylaion, and the very important road from the north to Apameia, the great trading centre of Phrygia, passed through it and went south by Prymnessos, Docimion with its great marble quarries, Synnada and Euphorbium in the fertile Tchyl Ova. At Nacoleia a second road branched off, went up the valley of a little river to a place named Pontanos, the modern Kirkagha (*i.e.* Forty Aghas), and thence across the Phrygian mountains to Conni: after this it went south by Eucarpia and Eumeneia, carrying to Apameia the produce of a fertile district for transport to the western markets. Nacoleia then became a rich city, while Orcistos, the Midas city, and the other seats of ancient civilisation, sank into insignificance,

[1] The xx. of the Peutinger Table must be corrected to thirty.

οὐδ' ἴχνη σώζοντα πόλεων, ἀλλὰ κῶμαι μικρῷ μείζους τῶν ἄλλων (Str. p. 568).

Nacoleia, the chief city of the district, was the seat of an officer of the imperial household who collected certain dues from the surrounding country. This officer, *exactor reipublicae Nacolensium*, was, like all of his class that are known, a slave of the imperial household (Mommsen, *C. I. L.* iii. p. 68). Orcistos was one of the dependent cities, which paid tribute to Nacoleia. The tribute was not all the property of the city, for the emperor's slave must have been in charge of an imperial interest: moreover, when an order was issued in favour of the inhabitants of Orcistos, *ne amplius Nacolensibus pro cultis penderent*, it was addressed to the administration of the province of Asia. The people of Orcistos seem to have been exposed to much loss and injustice from the Nacoleians in the exaction of the dues, till in the year 331 A.D. the town was raised to the rank of a *civitas*, and made independent of Nacoleia.

We may conclude that any slave of the emperor who is mentioned as resident at Nacoleia, was stationed there as *exactor*, and the names of some of them have been preserved. In the middle of the second century the office was held by a slave named Niger. The tombstone which he erected at his family-grave may still be seen in a Turkish cemetery about an hour to the east of Nacoleia. It is a fine large block of marble with the following inscription engraved on it in letters about two inches high :—

ΝΙΓΕΡΚΑΙΣΑ
ΡΟΣΔΟΥΛ
ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟ
ΖΩΝ
ΚΑΙ/
ΚΑΙ.

Νίγερ, Καίσαρος δοῦλ[ος], *νεώτερος* ζῶν [ἑαυτῷ] καὶ [μητρὶ ?] καὶ κ.τ.λ. [τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν]. Niger distinguishes himself from his father Niger by the epithet *νεώτερος*: his father must have been known in the district and had probably filled the same office. It is unlikely that a third slave bearing the same name filled the same office, and hence we are justified in referring the following inscription to this second Niger. It is

engraved in large letters on a block of Docimian marble in a court of the mosque of Seid-el-Ghazi.

Τ ΙΛΙΟΣ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ
ΣΕ ΑΣΤΟ
ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕ
ΡΟ Ν ⁻⁻Ρ

Τ.[Α]ἴλιος Αὐρήλιος, Σε[β]αστο[ῦ] ἀπελεύθερο[ς] Ν[ίγε]ρ.

The traces make the restoration of the name in the last line quite certain. Niger was manumitted by his imperial master, and took the name of T. Aelius Aurelius. His manumission must have taken place during the reign of T. Aelius Antoninus, and the name Aurelius was the family name of the emperor, though it did not form part of his imperial title. A slave born in his household might therefore assume both the official and the family name.[1]

The office of *exactor* was doubtless a lucrative one, and a son or descendant of the freedman, P. Aelius Claudianus Niger, was a man of great note in the district. In the two inscriptions below which mention him, unfortunately the exact nature of the services he rendered to the district is not mentioned. Had he simply performed with magnificence some of those honorary and costly offices of which the rich Greeks were in general so fond, it is probable that the title would have been added to his name. He is styled *ἥρωα ἐνδοξότατον, ἥρωα νέον*, and an inscription speaks in general terms of his good deeds to his country. The people of Prymnessos also were benefited by his munificence; and the Nacoleians expressly mentioned that the honorary statue was paid for by the State. The honours granted to rich men were generally paid for by the recipients, but the style of the inscription shows that some unusual service was performed by Claudianus, and was rewarded with unusual honours. Prymnessos was a long way from Nacoleia, fully twelve hours' journey; and it must have been some remarkable deed which induced its inhabitants to place at Nacoleia the immense block of Docimian marble with the inscription published, *C. I. G.* 3818:—

[1] I am indebted to the Rev. W. W. Capes for valuable help on this subject.

· *ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Πρυμνησσέων* Π. Αἴλιον Κλαυδιανὸν *Νίγερα νέον ἥρωα.*

The people of Nacoleia in their inscription published by Mordtmann, *Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1860, expressly claim Claudianus as their own fellow-citizen.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Νακολέων Π. Αἴλιον Κλαυδιανὸν *Νίγερα ἥρωα ἐνδοξότατον τῶν εἰς τὴν πατριδα εὐεργεσιῶν ἀμοιβῆς ἕνεκα ἐτείμησεν, τῆς πόλεως ἀναστησάσης τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων.*[1]

Soon after the time of Niger, under the reign of Commodus, the office of exactor was held by a slave Craterus, who is mentioned in a Latin inscription, *C. I. L.* iii. 349.

Pro salute Imperatoris Caesaris M. Aurelii Commodi Antonini Augusti civitati Nacolensium Craterus, Caesaris nostri servus verna, exactor reipublicae Nacolensium, d.d.

The following two inscriptions afford an interesting glance into the religion of the district: the beginning of the first is lost, the end is—

Διὶ βροντῶντι καὶ Πατρὶ Θεῷ.

The second is complete :—

Ῥο[ῦφ]ος [ὑ]πὲρ τῶν ἰδίων π[ά]ντων [σ]ωτ[η]ρ[ίας] Διὶ βροντῶντι εὐχὴν.[2]

Votive inscriptions to Zeus Brontôn abound in this district of Phrygia. They occur at Nacoleia, at a deserted site one hour west of Nacoleia, at Arab Euren, beside Kumbet on the road to Nacoleia, three on the road from Nacoleia to Dorylaion, at Dorylaion, at Cotyaion, at Tricomia nine hours west of Nacoleia, at Ancyra of Galatia, and in Rome. It has been considered that Zeus Brontôn belonged to the class of Mithric deities introduced in Rome in the imperial time ;[3] but the inscriptions prove that he was a Phrygian god and that his seat was in this district, the peculiar home of the old Phrygian civilisation. In Rome an inscription has been found (*C. I. L.*

[1] I did not see this inscription, but take the copy of Mordtmann.

[2] I have not thought it necessary to take up space with the uncial text, except where the reading is difficult or the text of importance.

[3] Lajarde (*Annali*, 1841, p. 219) confuses this Zeus Bronton with the Mithric title Bonus Deus Bronton or *ἀστρόβροντος δαίμων*.

vi. No. 432),—Iovi sancto Brontonti Aur. Poplius: and the editors recognise that it has been set up by a Greek from Asia Minor. Beneath it is a relief representing Apollo Citharoedus sitting with a panther and two choephoroi: Apollo on the coins of Nacoleia always carries the lyre. The worship of Zeus Brontôn is so universal here, and here alone, that it must be the chief and oldest *cultus* of the district, and many of the old Phrygian myths are no doubt connected with it. We must try to gather its character from the few hints that are preserved. The epithets *πατὴρ θεός* and *νεικήτωρ πατὴρ* are expressly applied to him, and it is probable that Papias Zeus Soter, who is named along with Heracles Aniketos in a votive inscription of Nacoleia, is the same god. Papias is the Phrygian epithet translated as the Greek *πατὴρ* or *πατηρ θεός*. Papas was according to Arrian the Bithynian name of Zeus, and the Dryopes named the gods *πάπποι*: the word means father. Zeus Brontôn was therefore the same conception as the Sky Father of the Rig Veda and the Greek *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*. He hurls the thunder, which in early summer is exceedingly common on the Phrygian uplands.[1] He is also the god of the dark sky, the Greek Zeus Chthonios: an inscription at Nacoleia is dedicated *θεοῖς καταχθονίοις καὶ Διὶ Βροντῶντι*. He is also the Victorious, *Νεικήτωρ*: evidently the same development took place in Phrygia and in Greece of the naturalistic thundering god, *Καταιβατὴς* or *Βροντῶν*, into the moralised giver of victory. As Soter he is thanked for the preservation of man and beast (*ὑπὲρ βοῶν ἰδίων*, *C. I. G.* 3817): Zeus Soter was the third in the usual Greek formula of libation. On a coin of Nacoleia under Geta, Zeus stands nude hurling the thunderbolt with the right hand and holding the eagle on the left: this is evidently the Nacoleian type of Zeus Brontôn.

The Heracles who is mentioned along with Zeus is an important deity at Nacoleia. He occurs on two coins of the city. Under Caracalla he is represented standing holding in his right hand the club, in his left the lion's skin; at his feet is a bull's head (Mionnet, iv. No. 871). On a coin of Geta, he stands with his right hand behind his back and his left supported on his club which rests on a bull's head placed on a rock (Mionnet,

[1] On the connection between the weather and the conception of the supreme god, see Mommsen, *Delphica*, p. 3.

S. vii. No. 528). The bull's head on both probably denotes the river of Nacoleia, which was perhaps like the Lydian rivers Hyllus and Acheles a son of Heracles. The bull's head reminds us of the Achelous, whose name is a derivative of the simpler form Acheles.

There are hot springs beside Nacoleia, which must of course have been sacred; but nothing sufficiently definite occurs to connect either the Apollo or the Asclepios of coins with them.

Another votive inscription, very much mutilated, was found at Nacoleia:—

CI ΙΛΙΟC
ΝΤΩΝΙΟC
ΥΜ ΙΩ
ΕΥΧΗΝ.

It is unfortunate that the name of the deity is so mutilated in this inscription: it may end in *νω*, or *ειω*, or *αιω*. The name of the dedicator is equally uncertain, it may be Aelius Antonius, or Aurelius Antonius.

The other gods who occur on coins of Nacoleia are Artemis and Cybele; the latter is one of the commonest types. The caduceus of her companion Hermes also occurs.

The young men of Nacoleia were formed into a society, as we see from the following:—

Ο ΕΟΙΕΦΙΜΗ
Α ΓΑΙΟΝΑ
ΤΙCΤΙΟΝΑΧ
ΙΚΟΝΙΕΡΕΑ
ΟΝΕΦΗΒΟΝ
ΚΑΙΠΡΟΓΗ

This inscription is engraved on a block of the crumbling conglomerate of the district, and is now almost illegible; the first part reads:—

ο[ἱ Ν]έοι ἐ[τ]ίμη[σ]α[ν] Γάϊον Ἀ[ν]τίστιον Ἀχ[α]ικὸν ἱερέα.[1]

The members of such societies were older than the *ephebi*, and are sometimes called *ἄνδρες*. They were a regularly

[1] On the associations of the Neoi, see C. Curtius, *Hermes*, vii. p. 43: Collignon, *Les Colleges de* Νέοι *dans les Cités Grecques*, *Annal. d. Facul. d. Lettr. Bordeaux*, 1880: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* v. p. 389, iv. p. 240.

constituted body with their own officers, and awarded honours to deserving members.

The following inscriptions are sepulchral:—

Αὐρηλία Βάβου ζῶ[σ]α κὲ φρονοῦ[σ]α ἀνέστησεν ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ [Ὀ]νησίμῳ σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις τέκνοις.

The name of Onesimos as archon occurs on a coin of Nacoleia under Caracalla. The date would suit this inscription very well: on the one hand, it is not a very late one, as the letters are too well formed; on the other hand, Aurelia must have been born after the rule of the emperor Marcus Aurelius had popularised his name over the provinces.

Her father bears the genuine Phrygian name Babas, or Ouaouas as it is written at Ormelion on the borders of Pisidia (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878, p. 265). The feminine form is Babo at Ancyra (*C. I. G.* 4142); while at Ormelion it is Βάβει in the dative (*Bull. C. H.* 1879, p. 337). The patronymic Babeides is used as a personal name at Baris in Pisidia. Boubôn is used in Lycia. Boubôn is a town in the district of Cibyra; Bubassos a town of Caria. In an inscription which occurs on the tomb of Midas and on another rock in Phrygia, Baba is the first word and probably a proper name. We should expect from the analogy of Asian nomenclature that a class of names so widely spread in the country was derived from the name of a deity. Baubo is the name of a heroine in the *Demeter* legend, sometimes known as Iambe; and we now see that the name was familiar in the original home of this *cultus*. The two forms Babo and Baubo point back to an older form Bambo, and Banba occurs as a feminine name in Phrygia (Schmidt, *Neue Lyk. Stud.* 171). Now the exchange of 'b' and 'm' in Asia Minor has already been observed (above, p. 60), and it is not improbable that this form Banba is connected with that of the goddess who gave name to the ancient city of Βαμβύκη or Mabbog, the Greek Hierapolis, in northern Syria. This town was one of the chief seats of the Dea Syria, whose influence on the religion of Asia Minor is so strong.

High in a wall of the mosque I could with difficulty read—

οἱ δεῖνες Ἀρι]σ[τ]οκράτη υἱῶ γλυκυτάτω [ζ]ήσαντ[ι] ἔτη δέκα ὀκτ[ώ], μνήμης χάριν.

This inscription belongs to a very common class; it is raised by the parents to their 'sweetest son, aged eighteen.'

The following inscription has been badly published by Mordtmann—

ὁ δεῖνα τῇ δεῖνι γλ[υκυτάτη συμβί]ῳ κὲ Ἀσκα[νίῳ κὲ Γ ?] αλλικῷ κὲ Ἑρμιό?]νη τέκνοις [τὸ μνη-] μῖον ΥΜ[˙ ˙ μν]ήμης χάριν.

The name of the oldest child is almost certain. Ascanios was a characteristic Phrygian hero, and his *cultus* was widespread (see Waddington on Lebas, *Inscr. As. Min.* No. 668). Ἀσκαηνός or Ἀσκαινός was a surname of the Phrygian god Men. The other names are supplied *exempli gratiâ*.

A number of other inscriptions exist in Nacoleia, but they are cut on the soft crumbling conglomerate of the district, and are hopelessly decayed. On one of them I could distinguish the word ἀρχιερ[εύς]: a person of high rank, chief priest of the *cultus* of the emperor in this district, was mentioned on the stone.[1]

[1] Inscriptions from Nacoleia besides those published here may be found in *C. I. G.*, *C. I. L.*, Mordtmann in *Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1860, and in *Berichte Verhandl. Münch.* 1861 (a paper which I have not the opportunity of seeing in Athens), Kirchhoff, *Annali*, 1861.

W. M. Ramsay.

ON THE *CHARACTERS* OF THEOPHRASTUS.

I LATELY enriched a village library with some volumes of Dickens; but, to my disappointment, the country-folk did not care for them. And the reason was not only that all those amusing vulgarities seem neither vulgar nor amusing to rustic readers; but far more because their way of life is so entirely removed from that life of the office, the back-parlour, and the street, with which the great humourist has to do, that they cannot imagine it. My failure made me reflect how imperfect is our acquaintance with the scenery and associations of classical life, and how much of the wit and fun of ancient humourists may be lost upon us, who live in such a different world from theirs. This misgiving must strike the reader of the *Characters*: he feels that they are sketched from life, but he craves for a completer familiarity with the Athens of the 4th century, without which many of the minuter touches may be missed. The very quality in Theophrastus which some have called 'superficial,' makes a fresh demand upon the reader. The author indicates only the external symptoms of character, not concerning himself with a deeper analysis. Not that his portraiture ever offends us by the combination of incompatible features, or by the omission of essential qualities. Only the painter, like Sir Joshua, has wrought with such evanescent materials that we have at times to trust to our imagination to recall the original firmness of the drawing, and the depth and warmth of the colouring. Our chief want is a minuter acquaintance with the rules and fashions of contemporary society. And as I am not aware that anyone has been at pains to seek for illustration of the *Characters* among Athenian inscriptions, a few notes from this source may be

welcome. I shall follow the delightful edition of Mr. Jebb, who (besides giving a felicitous translation) has rendered his author valuable service both as a critic and a commentator

I.

The Man of Petty Ambition (*μικροφιλοτιμία*).

One of his traits is this: *καὶ κυναρίου δὲ Μελιταίου τελευτήσαντος αὐτῷ, μνῆμα καὶ στηλίδιον ποιήσας ἐπιγράψαι* ΚΛΑΔΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΟΣ. Mr. Jebb follows the MSS. in retaining *κλάδος*, with which he compares the poetical use of *ἔρνος*, *θάλος*, *ὄζος*, *πτόρθος*. 'The master desires to proclaim that his dog was of the choice Melitean breed; and this he does in a characteristically high-flown phrase.' He translates 'He will put up a memorial slab, with the inscription, A SCION OF MELITA.' This account of the passage might serve, in the absence of a better. We hardly need notice the improbable conjecture which some editors have adopted: ΚΑΛΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΟΣ. This, the well-known formula of love-sick admiration, would rather be fitting if carved on a tree, or scrawled upon a wall. I have another explanation to offer.

First of all it was evidently regarded as an absurd bit of fussy vanity in the Athens of that day, to erect a tombstone over a lap-dog: and further, the inscription in question (however explained) was designed to glorify the master.[1] Away from Athens

[1] Readers of Wordsworth will remember how beautifully he has expressed our instinctive objection to such a monument:—

'Lie here, without a record of thy worth,
Beneath a covering of common earth!
It is not from unwillingness to praise,
Or want of love, that here no stone we raise;
More thou deserv'st; but *this* man gives to man,
Brother to brother; *this* is all we can.
Yet they to whom thy virtues made thee dear
Shall find thee through all changes of the year:
This oak points out thy grave; the silent tree
Will gladly stand a monument of thee.'

Aelian (*V. H.* viii. 4) tells of one Poliarchus of Athens, who was said *ἐς τοσοῦτον προελθεῖν τρυφῆς* as to give an elaborate burial and sepulchral monuments to his favourite hounds and game-cocks. We do not know what his date was, and his conduct was deemed scandalous.

and in later days, such monuments to favourite dogs appear to have been not uncommon. Thus the inscription in *C. I. G.*, No. 6,332, is from a cinerary urn found near Tusculum, and of imperial times: Ἀκρίδι κυναρίῳ. Another such inscription is said to have been found near Florence, but is now lost; it is published, from a MS. copy, by Boeckh, *C. I. G.*, No. 6,310 (Jacobs, *Anth. Pal.* vol. iii. p. 317, No. DCCLV.; Kaibel, *Epigr. Graeca*, No. 627). It belongs to late Roman times, and runs thus:—

Τὴν τρίβον [ὃς] παράγεις, | ἄν πως τόδε σῆμα νοήσῃς, |
μὴ (δέομαι) γελάσῃς, εἰ | κυνός ἐστι τάφος. |
ἐ[κ]λαύσθην, χεῖρες δὲ | κόνιν συνέθη[κ]αν [ἄν]ακτος, |
ὅς μου καὶ στήλῃ τόνδ' | ἐχάραξε λόγον.[1]

Kaibel, No. 626, publishes another from Rome (Welcker, *Sylloge*, 102), which appears to be rather earlier in date:

Χρῆμα τὸ πᾶν Θείας, βαιᾶς κυνός, ἠρία κεύθει,
εὐνοίας, στοργῆς, εἴδεος ἀγλαΐαν·
κούρη δ' ἁβρὸν ἄθυρμα ποθοῦσ' ἐλεεινὰ δακρύει
τὴν τροφίμην, φιλίας μνῆστιν ἔχουσ' ἀτρεκῆ.

Kaibel, No. 332, gives another, from Pergamon: the original stone exhibits a hound in relief, (Le Bas, *Revue de la Philol.* i. 335), and seems to be of good date:

Οὔνομα Φιλοκύνηγος ἐμοί· τοῖος γὰρ ὑπάρχων
θηρσὶν ἐπὶ φυβεροῖς κραιπνὸν ἔθηκα πόδα.

But the prettiest epitaph remains to be cited. It was first printed by Kaibel in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (Vol. ii. 1874–75, p. 1. foll. *Cyriaci Lesbiaca*, No. vi.) from a copy made by Cyriacus of Ancona in the fifteenth century from the stone (now lost) at Mitylene. It is in Ionic; and therefore may have been

[1] Jacobs, *ibid.* No. DCCLVI., publishes the following from a Vatican MS.:—

Τῆδε τὸν ἐκ Μελίτης ἀργὸν κύνα φησὶν ὁ πέτρος
ἴσχειν, Εὐμήλου πιστότατον φύλακα.
Ταῦρόν μιν καλέεσκον, ὅτ' ἦν ἔτι· νῦν δὲ τὸ κείνου
φθέγμα σιωπηραὶ νυκτὸς ἔχουσιν ὁδοί.

This, however, is a clumsy forgery. Imagine a little Maltese puppy, with its puny voice, being named Ταῦρος, and remembered for its 'deep-throated' bark! I say *Maltese*, although the same doubt meets us here, which we are familiar with from St. Paul's shipwreck. Callimachus, quoted by Pliny, *N. H.* iii. 152, makes Meleda off Illyricum the home of this breed; Strabo, p. 277, is as decided for Malta.

set up by some merchant while his ship lay at Mitylene. It belongs to the first or second century B.C. I read it thus:—

Τὴν κύνα Λεσβιακῇ βώλῳ ὑπεθήκατο Βάλβος,
—εὐξάμενος κουφὴν τῇ κατὰ γῆς σκύ[λα]κ[ι],—
δουλίδα καὶ σύμπλουν πολλῆς ἁλός, [ἄ]ν κε παράσχοις
ἀνθρώποις, ἀλόγοις ταὐτὰ χαριζόμεν[ος].

Line 3: MS. ΑΛΟΣΤΙΝΚΑΙ. Kaibel rightly takes *και* as a mediæval blunder for *κε*. But I cannot construe his restoration of the lines in his *Epigr. Gr.* No. 329, [ἢ]ν κε or [ᾗ]κε χαριζομέν[η]. The combination ἄν κε has abundant sanction (cf. *Odyss.* 9, 334, &c.); ἄν = ἃ ἄν.

But to return to Theophrastus. I should much prefer to find in **ΚΛΑΔΟΣ** not a common name, but the name the dog answered to. This is not impossible; for Κλάδος (Cladus) occurs on four gravestones in Boeckh's *C. I. G.* No. 2347ₐf., from Syros, L. Postumius Cladus; No. 4,315, t. (addenda vol. iii.), from Lycia, Κλάδος Κιρνίου (Boeckh conj. Κοΐντου) Μενίππου κ.τ.λ.; No. 6,933, now at Florence, Εὐφροσύνη, Λουκίου Ἀλβανίου Κλάδου [γυνή], χρηστὴ χαῖρε; No. 9,862, probably Roman, Λούκιος Φλάβιος Κλάδος κ.τ.λ. In *C. I. A.* iii. 836, we have another Κλάδος, of Athens: Kaibel, *Epigrammata Gr.* 247, exhibits a Mysian Κλάδος. As all these are of post-christian times, they do not help us much: they prove however that Κλάδος was one of those names of inanimate objects which the fancy of later Greece adopted for proper names, like Βότρυς, Στάχυς, Κάρπος, Κίσσος, Δόναξ, Θάλλος, and many others. So that we should be prepared to believe that Κλάδος might have been the name of a dog in the fourth century B.C. What we want, however, is a *characteristic* puppy's name, and one which flattered the master's taste. In Alciphron, iii. 22, we have Πλαγγών ('Puppet') as the name of a Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον, and in Lucian (*De merc. conductis*, § 34,) Μυρρίνη. In default of anything better I suggest **ΚΑΛΛΟΣ**, 'Beauty,' a word which closely follows the lettering of the MSS., and gives a sense to κάλλος which it will readily bear (see L. and S. *reff.*). Nor need I remark that the neuter form of the proper name could in no way affect the gender of the epithet, which follows the sex of the person,—except to add that this apparent difficulty may have led to the corruption of the MSS.

Whatever account we give of **ΚΛΑΔΟΣ**, I think we must expect our *στηλίδιον* to conform with the habitual usage of Attic sepulchral monuments of the time. Our acquaintance with Attic epitaphs has been made so complete by Professor Kumanudes' large collection,[1] that we may here leave the region of guess-work. Now the tombstones of Athenian citizens of the fourth century B.C. were invariably inscribed after the following simple fashion (Kuman. 61, 172, 264) :—

Παυσανίας	Μνήσιππος	Δημόφιλος
Προξένου	Μνησαγόρου	Μηνοδότου
Ἀζηνιεύς	Ἀλαιεύς	Ἀραφήνιος

and so on, in hundreds of examples. The tombstones of foreigners who were buried at Athens exhibit, as a rule, the same simplicity of phrase, at least in the days of Theophrastus. The usual designation of a Μέτοικος was thus (Kuman. 2,374, 1,903) :—

Ἀρτεμίδωρος	Μενέστρατος
Ἡλιοδώρου	Θωρακίδου
Σιδώνιος	Κορίνθιος

that is, instead of the name of the deme, we find the name of his fatherland. In many cases, however, where the father's name was not known, the inscription runs thus :—

Εὔαρχος
Ἠλεῖος.

When we discover how rigidly this style of designation was adhered to upon Attic funeral monuments, we are disposed to believe that the *μικροφιλότιμος* (fussy about trifles from sheer vanity, while the *περίεργος* is similarly fussy from weak amiability) in raising a monument to remind everybody of the treasure he has lost, follows the regular wont of the epitaphs of *μέτοικοι* in that day :—[2]

ΚΑΛΛΟΣ
ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΟΣ.

[1] Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι, Athens, 1871. A considerable number may be found in Boeckh's *C. I. G.* vol. i., and in *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, pt. i.

[2] Before leaving this passage, I would note that the Lexicons are wrong in citing Demosthenes p. 782 as an instance of *ποδαπός* for *ποῖος*. The speaker refers to the different kinds of dogs, which were named according to nationality, Molossian, Laconian, etc.; and *ποδαπός* is used quite strictly: 'of what breed?'

II.

Immediately afterwards there follows another mark of the *μικροφιλότιμος*. *Καὶ ἀναθεὶς δακτύλιον χαλκοῦν ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιοῦ* (so Mr. Jebb for MS. *Ἀσκληπιῷ*) *τοῦτον ἐκτρίβειν †στεφανοῦντα† ἀλείφειν ὁσημέραι.* 'If he has dedicated a brass ring in the temple of Asclepius, he will wear it to a wire with daily burnishings and oilings:' so Mr. Jebb, adopting Foss' *στιλπνῶν καὶ* for the manifestly corrupt *στεφανοῦντα*. We may observe that though articles of personal adornment (necklaces, ear-rings, &c.) were frequently dedicated, yet finger-rings were not so commonly presented; the piety of the worshipper would suggest a more valuable gift. In a treasure-list of the Parthenon however, dated B.C. 398, and now in the British Museum (*Inscrr. in the B.M.* No. xxix) a good many rings occur. They are usually of gold, and are sometimes described as set with gems. One item indeed in that very inventory specifies *δακτύλιοι σιδηροῖ ὀκτώ ταῦτα Θαυμαρέτη ἀνέθηκε*, but these *iron* rings had probably been once either gilt or overlaid with gold. The ring in our text makes no pretension of the kind; it is a simple *ex voto* of bronze. But our fussy man takes as much pains over it as if it were ever so valuable; he will go every day to see that it is safe, and duly polished. Here I would amend the MS. by reading *τοῦτον ἐκτρίβειν* ΤΕ ΦΑΙΔΡΥΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ *ἀλείφειν ὁσημέραι*. This closely follows the letters of the MS., and it yields exactly the sense required. For *φαιδρύνω* is the *verbum sollenne* for the dusting and polishing of a temple-statue. It will be remembered that the descendants of Pheidias formed a sort of Levitical *gens* at Olympia, by name *φαιδρυνταί*, being entrusted with the care of the great statue of Zeus; so Pausan. v. 14, 5: *ταύτῃ τῇ Ἐργάνῃ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ φαιδρυνταί, γέρας παρὰ Ἠλείων εἰληφότες τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσιζανόντων καθαίρειν, οὗτοι θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἢ λαμπρύνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄρχονται.* The same verb occurs in a similar connection in Porphyrius' *De Abst.* ii. 16: *σπουδαίως θύειν ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσι χρόνοις, κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ταῖς νουμηνίαις στεφανοῦντα καὶ φαιδρύνοντα τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἱερῶν κ.τ.λ.* Pausanias (v. 11, 5)

gives some curious information about the cleaning of temple-statues, and especially the chryselephantine statues of Olympia and of the Parthenon: olive oil was largely used for the Olympian image. Again in book x. 24, 5, Pausanias, describing the Delphian temple, says: *ἐπαναβάντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος λίθος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας· τούτου καὶ ἔλαιον ὁσημέραι καταχέουσι καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἑκάστην ἔρια ἐπιτιθέασι τὰ ἀργά.* In short, Theophrastus is depicting an elaborate fussiness about a trifling matter, and in *φαιδρύνω* he has the very word he wants. It describes the man as being as careful over his trumpery *ex voto* as if it were the image of Olympian Zeus that was to be cleaned or the sacred stone at Delphi to be anointed with oil.

My suggestion will be even nearer to the *ductus literarum* if we may write *φαιδύνω* for *φαιδρύνω*. On one of the priests' thrones in the Dionysiac Theatre we read: *Φαιδυντοῦ | Διὸς ἐκ Πείσης*; on another *Φαιδυντοῦ | Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου | ἐν ἄστει* (*C. I. A.* iii. Nos. 283, 291). Both of these are probably of Hadrian's time. No. 5 *ibid.*, a decree about the Eleusinian festival (*temp.* M. Aurelius), makes mention of a *φαιδυντὴς τοῖν θεοῖν*, *i.e.* of Demeter and Corè. In *C. I. G.* 446 an Eleusinian *φαιδυντὴς* is also mentioned. These documents are perhaps too late to justify the form *φαιδύνω* in Theophrastus. Yet *φαιδύνω* would be analogous to *αἰσχύνω*; and if it is said that *αἰσχύνω* is from *αἶσχος*, we may reply that the gloss in Hesychius, *s.v. φαίδει· ὄψει*, points to a neuter *φαῖδος* analogous to *αἶσχος*.

III.

Another performance of the *μικροφιλότιμος* is 'to obtain from the presidents (*πρυτάνεις*) of the Senate by private arrangement the privilege of reporting the sacrifices to the people; when, having provided himself with a smart white cloak and put on a wreath, he will come forward and say: "Athenians! we, the presidents of the Senate, have been sacrificing to the Mother of the Gods, meetly and auspiciously; receive ye her good gifts!" Having made this announcement he will go home to his wife and declare that he is supremely fortunate.'

Theophrastus may not have intended it, but here he certainly hits not only an individual folly, but what was a national weakness in later Athenians. Their public decrees, from the middle of the fourth century onwards, are full of *μικροφιλοτιμία*. In the second volume of the *C. I. A.* Professor Kochler has edited and arranged in chronological order all the known Attic decrees from the archonship of Eucleides down to the time of Augustus. These are, it is true, but a remnant saved from the wreck of antiquity. But the collection is full enough to afford a very fair sample of the public transactions of those three and a half centuries. In perusing that volume we can trace step by step the steady decline of Athenian political life, and the narrowing of its interests. During the earlier years we meet with hardly anything but decrees in honour of persons who have served the interests of Athens in the Aegean or elsewhere. Soon we arrive at a long series of documents relating to the growth and organization of the New Athenian Alliance, which owed its existence to the successes of Conon. We find envoys at Athens not only from the allied Greek states, but also from Syracuse and Dionysius I., from Egypt, and even from Carthage. Not a few decrees are concerned with the struggle with Philip, and his intrigues in the Chalcidian Chersonnese and in the various cities of Greece. Even after the death of Alexander, the Lamian War leaves its traces upon the inscriptions; and the relations of Athens with Cassander, with Demetrius, with Lysimachus, form the subject of numerous decrees, which, though not breathing the old tone of civic independence, are yet of political and international interest. Up to this point, in other words, Athens had a history, and was a 'factor' in the Hellenic world. So much so, that only here and there in the earlier part of this volume do we meet with decrees of the Senate and people on affairs purely religious and ceremonial. No. 164 *e.g.* is a decree in honour of Colophonian envoys, who had come to make a dedication to Athena and to offer sacrifices. But it is highly probable that their visit took place soon after Alexander had liberated the Asiatic Greeks from the Persian yoke (B.C. 334): so that Colophon took occasion to renew her old friendship with Athens, and the decree has a political interest.

But as soon as we pass the limit of B.C. 300, a change is perceived in the transactions of the Athenian Senate and people.

Not treaties, but honorary decrees loaded with wordy compliments tire the patience of the reader:[1] and instead of the national concerns of Greece, we have reports of how such and such officials have performed certain sacrifices; and the Senate and people can find time (in the absence of wider interests) to propose and pass elaborate expressions of approval and thanks. I have picked out (from *C. I. A.* Vol. ii.) the following examples of decrees about sacrifices, which illustrate at once the μικροφιλοτιμία and δεισιδαιμονία of later Athens.

Earlier half of third century:

No. 302. Praise of a citizen who has served various offices and 'has performed all the sacrifices,' &c. (No deities are named.) Probably B.C. 293.

No. 305. Certain officials, thirteen in number, praised for sacrificing to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira.

No. 307. The Agonothetes of the Dionysia praised for sacrifices to Dionysos and for other benefits (cf. No. 314).

No. 315. The Curators of the Mysteries praised for sacrificing.

No. 325. The priest of Zeus Soter praised for sacrifices to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira.

No. 326. Another with the same object.

Latter half of third century:—

No. 374. Priestess of Athena Polias crowned for sacrifices, &c.

No. 376. Curators of the Mysteries praised for sacrifices to Demeter and Corè.

No. 409 *b* (p. 417). Some priestess praised for sacrifices.

No. 373 *b* (p. 426). Priest of Asclepius praised for sacrificing to Asclepius and Hygieia.

Second century:—

No. 420. Curators of the Great Dionysia praised.

[1] The Athenians themselves were sensible of the change: see Aeschines' complaint of the cheapening of public honours *pari passu* with the decline of public spirit (*in Ctes.* § 177 foll.). He and his friends had by their policy largely contributed to this result.

No. 422. Some other sacrifices accepted, and thanks awarded.

No. 442. Milesian *θεωροί* sent to the Greater Eleusinia, praised for their sacrifices on behalf of Athens and Miletus, which they have reported to the Senate.

No. 453. Some official praised for sacrificing.

No. 453 *b* (p. 418). Priest of Asclepius and Hygieia praised for sacrificing.

No. 457. Some official praised for sacrificing to Eirene.

Nos. 478, 479. Sacrifices by the Ephebi accepted by the Senate and people. Documents of this kind soon became more numerous and more wordy.

I might probably have found more examples, if it had been worth while: but these are quite enough to indicate the tendency of the times. And while the machinery of the Athenian assemblies was busied upon topics like these, we find the Prytanes also appearing in a similar character. It will be remembered that, as the Senate consisted of fifty members from each of the ten tribes, each tribal fifty acted in turn as Presidents (*πρυτάνεις*) of the Senate and assembly. During the thirty-five or thirty-six days of their 'prytany' they lived in the prytaneium as an official residence, and acted as a sort of Cabinet or Ministry. They had the preparation of the public business, they introduced foreign envoys, their *epistates* or foreman (appointed daily by lot) was the chairman or 'speaker' in both houses, and their powers were accordingly large. The idea was that each division of the whole citizen body should have the administration of affairs in turn, as *φυλὴ πρυτανεύουσα*.

This plan was certainly followed before, and during, the year of Euclid's archonship, B.C. 403 (see *C. I. A.* ii. No. 1 *b*, p. 393, where the *ἐπιστάτης* belongs to the *φυλὴ πρυτανεύουσα*). Very soon after that date (our inscriptions are not yet sufficient to fix the exact year) it became the established rule for the *epistates* of the *prytanes* to select, by daily sortition in the Senate, one senator from each of the tribes *except* the prytanising tribe. These nine *proedri* chose further their own epistates by lot, so that there were now two co-ordinate bodies,—the nine *πρόεδροι* with their *ἐπιστάτης*, and the fifty *πρυτάνεις*

with their *ἐπιστάτης*.[1] To the former of these were henceforward transferred the duties of presiding in the Senate and assembly, the principle apparently being to make (so to speak) the 'Cabinet' more directly representative of the whole citizen body. The fifty prytanes and their epistates still went on in other respects as before, retaining their more formal and ceremonial functions. They kept the key of the Senate-house and of the acropolis, and the seal of the republic. They had the right of convening the Senate, and although the Proedri were always said to *χρηματίζειν*, *i.e.* to bring forward the *agenda*, in the *ecclesia*, and the Epistates of the Proedri is termed *ὁ ἐπιψηφίζων*, as putting questions to the vote in either house, yet the prytanes still appear to have retained a shadow of their old functions whenever the 'freedom of the city' was voted to benefactors. When such a grant (*δωρεά*) had been affirmed by both the Senate and Assembly, it did not technically pass into law until the proposal had been reaffirmed[2] by a 'second reading' in the ecclesia; and even after this, it had to be approved by a court of dikasts, before whom it might be attacked by a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. Of course such a 'second reading' was a mere formality, and as such it remained in the hands of the prytanes: see *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 298, 300, 309, 312, 320. The formula runs thus: *τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις οἳ ἂν πρῶτον λάχωσιν πρυτανεύειν δοῦναι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον* (*i.e.* the final and formal voting) *εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν, τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν δοκιμασίαν τῆς δωρεᾶς εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ὅταν πρῶτον οἷόν τ' ᾖ* (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 312; a decree of B.C. 286).

The political importance of the prytanes having thus declined before the days of Theophrastus, it was natural that more prominence should be given to their religious functions. From the first we must suppose that whatever sacrifices were offered by

[1] See Harpocration *s.v.* *Ἐπιστάτης. Δύο εἰσὶν οἱ καθιστάμενοι Ἐπιστάται· ὁ μὲν ἐκ Πρυτανείου κληρούμενος, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Προέδρων, ὧν ἑκάτερος τίνα διοίκησιν διοικεῖ δεδήλωκεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων Πολιτείᾳ.*

[2] Dem. *In Neaeram*, 1374: *πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νόμος ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ κείμενος, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ποιήσασθαι Ἀθηναῖον, ὃν ἂν μὴ δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἄξιον ᾖ γενέσθαι πολίτην. ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὰν πεισθῇ ὁ δῆμος καὶ δῷ τὴν δωρεάν, οὐκ ἐᾷ κυρίαν γενέσθαι τὴν ποίησιν, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ ψήφῳ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερεξακισχίλιοι Ἀθηναῖοι ψηφίσωνται, κρύβδην ψηφιζόμενοι. τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις κελεύει τιθέναι τοὺς καδίσκους ὁ νόμος, καὶ τὴν ψῆφον διδόναι προσιόντι τῷ δήμῳ, πρὶν τοὺς ξένους εἰσιέναι.*

the Senate would be offered by the prytanes at the commencement of each prytany (Antiphon, *De Chor.* 45). In a decree of the administration of Lycurgus (B.C. 337—322, *C. I. A.* 163 concerning the yearly celebration of the Panathenaea, it is enacted, that after the sacrifices by the *ἱεροποιοί*, 'portions' (*μερίδες*) shall be distributed as follows: (1) five to the (fifty) prytanes, (2) ... to the nine archons, (3) one to the *ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ*, and so on, the prytanes standing first. Moreover, we find a distinct class of documents in which prytanes (with their treasurer and other officers), at the end of their term, are praised by the Senate and people for their loyalty to the city, and their piety towards the gods. Especial mention is made of their Report of the favourable nature of their sacrifices, in terms like the following: *ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν ἔθυον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Βουλαίᾳ καί τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν, κ.τ.λ.*[1] The oldest decree of this kind (which names the archonship of Eubulus, probably between 276—268 B.C.) differs from later specimens in being more sparing of compliments, although praising the prytanes as a body. Probably also, at first, such votes of thanks were reserved for prytanes who had shown unusual munificence in their sacrifices—for splendid sacrifices meant not only honour to the gods but banqueting for senators. Later, however, the vote became a matter of course at the end of every prytany.[2] The latest document of the kind is perhaps not much earlier than Augustus (*C. I. A*, ii. No. 487). Under the Empire these honours to the prytanes are no longer voted by the Senate: the office has become more than ever a kind of *liturgy*, and the prytanes themselves take pains to inscribe their own names upon public monuments, together with the *ἀίσιτοι* (*ἀείσιτοι*), *i.e.* the priestly and other officers who had the perpetual right of dining in the prytaneium (see Boeckh, *C. I. G.* vol. i. p. 314 foll.). It will be observed that none of these documents is earlier than B.C. 300. In other words, not until that time did

[1] The specimens of this kind known to Koehler are the following, *C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 329, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 408, 417, 425, 426, 431, 432, 440, 441, 454, 459, 472, 487. No. 221 pretends to be an example of the same kind from the fourth century, but it is a manifest forgery.

[2] Koehler has dealt with this class of inscriptions in the *Hermes*, vol. v. p. 331 foll.

the Senate begin to make much ado about the sacrificial Reports of the prytanes. That is to say, in the time of Theophrastus these Reports were taken as a matter of course. He implies, however, in the passage last cited, that there were already individuals who were glad to make what was mere matter of form an occasion of personal parade. The *μικροφιλότιμος* is a senator whose tribe is now fulfilling its prytany, and he is anxious to be seen and heard. To-day the Report of a sacrifice has to be presented to the Senate and people. It ought, by rights, to be presented by the epistates selected by lot. He contrives to evade this difficulty by arrangement (*συνοικήσασθαι*), and with festival robe and chaplet he displays himself to the people. What in Theophrastus' day was the folly of a few, soon ceased to be a singularity, for Athens was full of *μικροφιλοτιμια*. I may add that the deities to whom, in the inscriptions, the prytanes speak of sacrificing, are usually Artemis Βουλαία, Apollo Προστατήριος, and (once) Artemis Φωσφόρος. Theophrastus names only the Mother of the gods. I think there is some point in this. We know that the Μητρῷον was erected by the Athenians, probably in the time of Pericles, at a moment of religious panic, when they were afraid of the consequences of having put to death a Phrygian Μητραγυρτής for blasphemy against the national religion. A shrine arose in the Agora, by command of the oracle, adjoining the Senate-house, and a yearly sacrifice was instituted (Schömann, *Griech. Alterth.* ii. 160, 359). We have no proof, however, that the Mother of the gods ever became as popular a deity as *e.g.* the Thracian Bendis (see Plato, *Rep.* init.); on the contrary, her worship was probably, by Theophrastus' day, as obsolete as the Dipolia were to Aristophanes (see Lex. *s.v.* Διπολιώδης). From the first century B.C. downwards we find evidence of her worship being revived—the *δεισιδαιμονία* of later Athens would combine with the reverence of Rome for this deity to produce that result.[1] The Attic Orators perpetually mention the Metroum, but only as the muniment room of the Senate: and it is as to the guardian of the state archives, that in B.C. 324 (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 607) the Συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου make a dedication to the Mother of the gods. Theophrastus, I think, has chosen precisely the

[1] See the Ephebic documents of the Roman period, *passim*, in most of which the mother of the gods is named.

deity whose name of all others would sound least interesting. She is named similarly among other deities to whom sacrifices are reported to have been made, in the fifty-fourth Prooemion ascribed to Demosthenes, but the prytanes are not mentioned. I fancy that here, too, the deities named are chosen *verbi gratiâ* as those having the least possible significance.

IV.

The Officious Man (περιεργία).

In describing the Officious man (περίεργος), Theophrastus throws in one touch which can only receive illustration from the marbles. The Officious man (fussy from weak good-nature, while the μικροφιλότιμος is fussy from egotism, and the ἄρεσκος from an interested desire to please) is supposed to be the owner of a family tomb, in which a female member of the household has just been buried. It is his duty to draw up her epitaph, and he acquits himself as follows: "He will inscribe upon a deceased woman's tombstone the name of her husband, of her father, and of her mother, as well as her own, with the place of her birth; recording further that 'All these are estimable persons'" (καὶ προσεπιγράψαι ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες χρηστοὶ ἦσαν). The point of the passage is obvious enough: in his desire to do a right part by everybody he overdoes it, and makes himself ridiculous. We have already had occasion to note the severe simplicity of Attic funeral inscriptions, and how rigorously the conventional forms were adhered to. We are therefore prepared to learn from Theophrastus, that any departure from them was felt to be grotesque and ill-bred. Nor was it likely that the rule of reserve and simplicity, which was observed in the epitaphs of citizens, would be relaxed in the case of their wives and daughters. We have abundant proof that it was not. The collection of Professor Kumanudes shows that in Attica, before and after the time of Theophrastus, it was usual upon the tombstone of a native Athenian woman to inscribe her own name and the name of her father and his deme. If, however, she were married, her husband's name and deme were always

given, her father's name and deme being usually added also *E.g.*

Θαλία	Μέλιττα	Νικοστράτη
Καλλιστράτου	Θεοφάνου	Μάκρωνος
Αἰξωνέως	Αἰξωνέως	Ἐρχιέως
θυγάτηρ.	γυνή.	θυγάτηρ.
		Φιλιστίδου
		Θημακέως
		γυνή.

In no case do we find the name of the woman's *mother* given, as it is by the Officious man. Neither is he right, in the case of an Attic woman, in naming her birth-place (*ποδαπή*), *i.e.* the name of her deme—the demotic name can only be in the masculine. Only in the case of *metoikoi* do women receive a feminine national epithet, as follows :—

Στρατονίκη	Διόκλεια	Εἰρήνη
Ἀπολλοδώρου	Θρᾷττα.	Γλύκωνος
Λαοδίκισσα.		Σιδωνία.

And this brings us to the "additional phrase" which the Officious man inserts (*προσεπιγράψαι*). Now it is certain that in most parts of Greece it was the commonest thing possible to insert on a tombstone, after the name of the deceased, some such salutation as *χρηστὲ χαῖρε, χρηστὲ καὶ ἄλυπε χαῖρε, χαίρετε πάντες*—or at least some epithet like *χρηστοὶ πάντες*, or *χρηστός, χρηστοί, χρηστή*. If so, where is the *περιεργία* implied by Theophrastus in the phrase, which would stand on the stone (I suppose) as **ΧΡΗΣΤΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ**? The collection of Kumanudes furnishes the answer; for in his Prolegomena he has laid before his readers some curious facts which he has gathered from his minute and extensive study of this class of documents. He assures us, and his volume bears out the statement, that among the 4,000 epitaphs he has collected not one monument of an Attic citizen bears the addition *χαῖρε*, or *χρηστός*, or *χρηστὲ χαῖρε*, nor do these phrases occur on the tombs of Athenian women. And this rule is never relaxed or infringed even in the latest Roman times. What is more remarkable, is that this severe simplicity, this Attic good taste, communicated itself to the resident foreigners at Athens. So

that upon the monuments of *metoikoi* the most usual practice was to subjoin to the name of the deceased merely his (or her) father's name, and the name of the nationality: *e.g.*

Ἀρτεμίδωρος
Ἀμμωνίου
Κυρηναῖος.

Very rarely indeed, and only in the case of *metoikoi*, is χρηστός (χρηστή) or χαῖρε added also. And rare as these phrases are, I notice that they are hardly ever inserted except when the gentile epithet is omitted; and we may perhaps set these down as the tombs of the less distinguished and less cultured *metoikoi*, who had least caught the Attic spirit. But even amongst the *metoikoi*, cultured or not, and throughout the Roman period, we may look in vain for those longer and more varied salutations which are so common on the monuments of Asia Minor, such as χρηστὲ καὶ ἄλυπε χαῖρε, ἥρως χαῖρε, ἀγαθὴ χαῖρε, and other formulae collected by Franz, *Elementa Epigr. Gr.* pp. 339, 340. These curious details give a new force to the satire of Theophrastus, who here assumes our minute acquaintance with the established customs of Athenian sepulture.

E. L. Hicks.

PINDAR.

§ 1. PINDAR is a classic of whom the study may be expected to grow with the growth of an interest in Greek archæology. Not, indeed, because it is indebted to him, so largely as to many other authors, for direct illustration. Rather because his 'Odes of Victory' are lit up in a new way by a fuller knowledge of the places with which they are concerned, of the contests which they celebrate, of the art and religion by which they were inspired. To take a single instance—the discoveries at Olympia, which have restored for us the main features of the altis, have given a new meaning for every modern reader to the beautiful, but hitherto indistinct, picture suggested by Pindar's description of 'all the holy place resounding with festal joy,' when 'the lovely light of the fair-faced moon shone forth' after a day of contests. Pindar's odes are poems of occasion, magnificent expressions of Hellenic life in its most distinctively Hellenic phases. Hitherto the real drawback to his popularity has not been obscurity of language, but the strain which he was felt to place on the modern imagination. Every step gained in the reconstruction of old Greek life is an addition to the most indispensable commentary on Pindar. It cannot be said that he has been neglected in recent times. Since the monumental labours of A. Boeckh, the edition of Dissen, and Bergk's in his *Poetae Lyrici*, we have had from Germany Tycho Mommsen's edition (1869), and more lately the recension by W. Christ in Trubner's series; since J. W. Donaldson's edition and Paley's translation, England has had the version in which Mr. Ernest Myers shows so fine a sympathy with Pindar's spirit, and the able edition of the Olympian and Pythian Odes by Mr. Fennell. In offering the following notes to the readers of this

Journal, my object is merely to contribute something, however little, to a closer appreciation of a poet whose charm gains on those who endeavour to see him more clearly in his relation to the life of his day, to its thought and art, and, above all, to the art which he had made his own.

§ 2. The spirit of Pindar's poetry is Panhellenic. This is, indeed, a part of its essence. At Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, Corinth, Greeks of all cities were brought into sympathy by rites and beliefs common to all. Pindar is highly skilled in the treatment of local myths or cults, appropriate to the particular victory But a sure instinct ever prompts him to link these interests of the individual city with topics which appeal to the religious sense or ancestral pride of the whole Hellenic name. The triumph which had owed its opportunity to the conception of a national unity could not be worthily commemorated in song which that conception had not helped to inspire. Pindar's age was one in which a really great poet could scarcely fail to be in accord with the quickened sense of Hellenic kinship. The years 502 to 452 B.C. measure the limits of his extant work; his happiest activity falls in the period just before and after the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. A great danger had drawn the members of the Hellenic family closer together; a great deliverance had left them animated by the recent memory of deeds which seemed to attest the legends of Agamemnon and Achilles; warmed by a more vivid faith in those gods who had indeed been with them in the hour of trial; comforted by a new stability of freedom; cheered by a sense of Hellenic energies which could expand securely from the Pillars of Hercules to the Phasis, from the Nile to the furthest point that man may reach on the way to the Hyperboreans; exalted in thought and fancy by the longing to body forth all this joy and hope in the most beautiful forms which language and music, marble, ivory, and gold could furnish for the honour of the gods, and for the delight of men who were their seed through the heroes. Aeschylus, in his *Persae*, heralds as with a clarion-note the advent of this age: Pindar, in his Odes of Victory, expresses some of its most brilliant and most suggestive aspects.

§ 3. Every great Hellenic artist of the fifth century B.C. was vitally affected by his own relation to the common

life of the city and of Hellas. If it could be shown that Pindar, a loyal Theban, was a disloyal Greek, then we might well marvel if that profound discord with the very soul of Greek art did not utter itself in some jarring notes which even a modern ear could not fail to catch. A great scholar has said :—'Such a man as Pindar could take no part in the enthusiasm of the Wars of Liberation, and could shortly after the battle of Marathon sing the glories of an Athenian without giving one word to that great day.'[1] The reference is to *Pythian* vii., of 22 lines only, for Megacles the Alcmaeonid, who won the four-horse-chariot race at Delphi in 490 B.C. Granting—what is not certain—that this slight ode was written after the battle, the absence of allusion to it would be sufficiently explained by the fact that such an allusion would have been singularly infelicitous. Athenian gossip accused the Alcmaeonidae of having signalled from Athens to the Persians, by raising a bright shield, immediately after the battle.[2] Turn to other odes, and we shall see how entirely Pindar rejoiced in the great national victory. Salamis, he says, is the glory of the Athenians, Plataea of the Spartans[3]—those fights 'whereby the Medes with curved bows were overthrown.' 'Some god has turned aside from us the stone that hung over our heads, as over Tantalus,—a torment greater than Hellas could bear.[4] But now the fear hath gone by, and eased me from sore anguish.' Still, indeed, there is grief in his heart (*καίπερ ἀχνύμενος θυμόν*); since Thebes, the native city which he loved so well, had no part in the glory. Elsewhere his feeling on this point comes out clearly, and in a way which is not without pathos. 'In which of the fair deeds of yore done in thy land, immortal Thebe, didst thou take most delight?' When thou broughtest forth Dionysos with the flowing locks, who sits beside Demeter; when Zeus came to Alcmene's bed; when Teiresias had fame for prophecy, and Iolaos for the driving of chariots? '*But the grace of the old time sleeps*, and men forget it, save what hath been wedded to the glorious tide of song, and hath won the perfect meed of minstrel's skill.' The greatness of Thebes, Pindar felt, belonged to the past, not to the present.

[1] Curtius, *Hist. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 264 (tr. Ward.).

[2] Her. vi. 115.

[3] *Pyth.* i. 75. Cp. *Isthm.* iv. 49, on the distinction won by the Aeginetans at Salamis.

[4] *Isthm.* vii. 10.

As he exults in the deliverance of Greece Proper from the Persians, so he celebrates the nearly simultaneous deliverance of Sicilian and Italian Greece from the Carthaginians, by that victory of Hiero at Cumae which 'drew Hellas out of heavy servitude.'[1]

§ 4. Though his poetry has no immediate concern with politics, we can, I think, discern the outlines of his own political creed. His family belonged to a noble house of ancient renown in Greece,—the Aegeidae, who traced their descent from the 'Cadmean' stock of prehistoric Thebes.[2] Before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, while the lands beneath Taygetus on the eastern side were still possessed by the Achaean masters of Amyclae, the Aegeidae had settled among them, as well as some Minyans from Lemnos. After the Dorian conquest the Aegeidae, though of Cadmean descent, appear to have been adopted by the Spartans into one of the three Dorian tribes;[3] and hence Pindar can say,—'fame tells that from Sparta comes the fair glory of our house; thence sprang the Aegeidae, my sires, who went to Thera' (*Pyth.* v. 68). Elsewhere he alludes to the still earlier chapter in the story of the family, when they, sons of Thebes (*σέθεν ἔκγονοι*), 'took Amyclae, by the oracles of Delphi.' (*Isthm.* vi. 14). The Aegeidae had a branch at Cyrene as well as at Thera, Sparta, and Thebes. Pindar speaks of the Theban Aegeidae as 'showing honour at the banquet' to Cyrene, when they keep the festival of the Carneia —a festival which, though in historical times associated with Dorians and especially with Sparta, had been originally brought from Thebes to Amyclae by the Cadmean Aegeidae, and had been of old associated with the worship of Demeter rather than with that of Apollo. Thus connected, by a lineage of which he was evidently proud, both with Cadmean Thebes and with Dorian Sparta, Pindar was not likely to have much personal sympathy with any advanced phase of democracy. The government of Thebes at the time of the Persian wars had been, in the phrase of Thucydides, a *δυναστεία οὐ μετὰ νόμων*,—an oligarchy of a narrow and non-constitutional type; this had been replaced, after the repulse of the Persian invasion, by an *ὀλιγαρχία ἰσόνομος* (Thuc. iii. 62). The latter phrase well expresses,

[1] *Pyth.* i. 75.

[2] See Müller's *Orchomenus*, c. 5, p. 111 (2nd ed.).

[3] Müller, *Dorians* ii. 79.

as I conceive, the shade of Greek political life most congenial to Pindar. See the suggestive passage in *Pythian* xi. (478 B.C.) 53 : *τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πόλιν εὑρίσκων τὰ μέσα μάσσονι σὺν | ὄλβῳ τεθαλότα, μέμφομ' αἶσαν τυραννίδων· | ξυναῖσι δ' ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖς τέταμαι*, κ.τ.λ. : 'in polities I find the middle state crowned with more enduring good ; therefore praise I not the despot's portion ; those virtues move my zeal which serve the folk.' One in whom pride of ancestry fostered a reverence for the traditions of Dorian civil life could have as little liking for absolutism as for the rule of the mob ; and that Pindar felt such reverence is well seen in the passage which speaks of Hiero as having founded Aetna (the restored Catana) *Ὑλλίδος στάθμας ἐν νόμοις*, in the laws of the Hyllic rule : 'yea,' adds the poet, and the Dorian sons of Pamphylus and of the Heracleidae, dwelling under the cliffs of Taygetus, are ever content to abide by the ordinances of Aegimius' (*Pyth.* i. 63).[1] When Pindar speaks of the royal lot as supremely happy and glorious (*τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται βασιλεῦσι, Ol.* i. 113), this does not involve approval of the *τυραννίς* as a form of government. He is speaking with reference to victory in the great festivals ; the four-horse chariot race, the contest which contributed most to the splendour of such festivals, was possible only for very rich men ; and *τύραννοι*, such as Hiero, commanded the amplest means of achieving such victories with impressive magnificence. Pindar's picture of the estimable *τύραννος* is one who is 'gentle to the folk, not envious of the noble, and to strangers a father wondrous kind' :— a character which, if realised, would have gone far to strip the Greek *τυραννίς* of its distinctive vices.[2]

On the other hand, there is only one touch in Pindar's extant work which can be said to reflect unfavourably on democracy,—his remark that the man of honest tongue has the advantage under every form of rule,—*παρὰ τυραννίδι, χώπόταν ὁ λάβρος στρατός, χὤταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ τηρέωντι*.[3] By *οἱ σοφοί* are meant 'the few'—the houses in whom the

[1] The *Ὑλλὶς στάθμα* is identical with the *τεθμοὶ Αἰγιμιοῦ*. Pindar means : 'At the new Aetna, as at Sparta, Dorians are true to their ancestral usages.' Hyllus, son of Heracles, was said to have been adopted by Aegimius, the father of Pamphylus and Dymas. (In *Isthm.* vii. 43 note *νεικέων πέταλα*, alluding to the *πεταλισμός*.)

[2] *Pyth.* iii. 71.

[3] *Pyth.* ii. 86.

ancient sacred rituals are hereditary,—the depositaries of ancient civil wisdom and law. Now it is worthy of notice that this occurs in an ode written for Hiero of Syracuse, and that in Pindar's time (if he died, as seems likely, about 441 B.C.) neither Greece Proper nor the Hellenic East yet presented any phase of democracy which could be intelligibly indicated as the rule of '*the raging crowd*.' Clearly, I think, he is referring—in phrase which *Siceliots* could well appreciate—to those violent democratic revolutions which more than once convulsed Sicilian cities, and overthrew tyrannies, in the earlier part of the fifth century. There is no reason to doubt the warmth or the sincerity of the admiration which Pindar felt for the type of stable and reasonable democracy—for the Athens of Themistocles and Pericles. 'Fairest of preludes is the renown of Athens for the mighty race of the Alcmaeonidae.[1] What home, or what house, could I call mine by a name that should sound more glorious for Hellas to hear?' κλειναί, μεγάλαι, εὐώνυμοι, λιπαραί, ἰοστέφανοι, ἱεραί—such are the epithets which Pindar elsewhere bestows on Athens; but most interesting of all, perhaps, is the reference in *Nemean* v., where, speaking of Menander,[2] the Athenian trainer of an Aeginetan victor, he says,—χρὴ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθαναῖν τέκτον' ἀθλητaῖσιν ἔμμεν: 'meet it is that a shaper of athletes should come from Athens.' Those who know Pindar's style, and who remember his frequent comparison of the poet's efforts to the athlete's, will scarcely doubt that, when he wrote those words, he was thinking of the early days when his own young powers had been disciplined at Athens by Lâsus of Hermione.

§ 5. Apart from his sympathies with any particular polity, or his relations to any one city, there is a larger and grander aspect of Pindar's poetry in regard to the politics of Hellas. The epic poets had sung the glories of war. Pindar celebrates the rivalries of peace. Aegina—which claims a larger number of his odes than any other one city—was a great seat of commerce: he describes it as a 'heaven-set pillar for strangers of every clime,[3] wherein Saving Themis hath worship by the side of Zeus the god of the stranger.' Corinth, 'vestibule of the Isthmian Poseidon,' is a city 'wherein dwelleth Eunomia, and her

[1] *Pyth.* vii. *ad init.*

[2] *Nem.* v. 49.

[3] *Ol.* viii. 36.

sister, the upholder of cities, and unfailing Dicè, and like-minded Eirenè, watchers over wealth for men, golden daughters of wise-counselling Themis.'[1] At Opus, again, there is a home for 'Themis and her daughter, glorious Eunomia, who saveth.'[2] *Tranquillity* is the friend of cities (Ἀσυχία φιλόπολις); and Tranquillity is the daughter of Justice.[3] We can often feel in Pindar that new sense of leisure for peaceful pursuits and civilising arts which came after the Persian Wars; there breathes in his poetry such a message of sacred peace as the Olympic festival itself proclaimed every year to Hellas by 'the heralds of the seasons, the Elean truce-bringers of Zeus son of Cronus'[4] —κάρυκες ὡρᾶν, . . . σπονδοφόροι Κρονίδα Ζηνὸς Ἀλεῖοι.

§ 6. Pindar's attitude towards religion is that of a man who held devoutly the received national creed of Greece, but with whose faith were blended certain elements distinguishing it from that of the ordinary citizen of the more cultivated sort. Here, again, we must remember his connection with the Aegeidae. In such houses certain family rites and bodies of sacred lore were usually hereditary. These, combined with political influence, often gave such families peculiarly intimate relations with the chief centres of worship and divination, such as the temples at Delos, Abae, and, above all, Delphi. The direct influence of the great houses on the oracles can be constantly recognised in Greek history. Pindar was, besides, a man of lofty genius, and of that typically Greek temperament in which the sense of natural beauty rose to be a sense of awe as in presence of a divine majesty; as when Plato says of the soul that had looked upon the true loveliness, σεφθεῖσα δὲ ἀνέπεσεν ὑπτία. Such a man was as perfect a teller-forth of the honour of the gods, as truly a heaven-born προφήτης, as the temple of Delphi could have found for its service; and the more we study Pindar's poetry, the more we shall read in it the mind of that Delphic religion which, in his time, was still a mighty, if a declining, power. I may illustrate my meaning by a particular trait. Pindar frequently refers to the art of divination as one by which skilled seers win unerring signs from the gods; more especially he renders homage to the great augural clan of the Iamidae, whose practice of the μαντικὴ δι' ἐμπύρων on the altar of Zeus

[1] *Ol.* xiii. 8.
[2] *Ol.* ix. 15.
[3] *Ol.* iv. 16: *Pyth.* viii.
[4] *Isthm.* ii. 23.

entitles Olympia to be emphatically styled *δέσποιν' ἀλαθείας*, Mistress of Truth.[1] At other times, again, he declares with equal emphasis that no forecast of the future is possible. 'Never yet has any mortal man won from the gods a sure token (*σύμβολον πιστόν*) of an event to come, but forecasts of the future have been doomed to blindness'; *τῶν δὲ μελλόντων τετύφλωνται φραδαί*.[2] Again: 'the sign from Zeus attends not on men with clearness.'[3] If Pindar had been asked to explain the apparent contradiction, the answer would probably have been that, when the gods give omens which they intend men to understand, these omens are infallible; but that often such divine tokens are altogether withheld; and that in many instances, when *some* sign is vouchsafed, but not of a clear kind,—as if to try the spiritual insight of men,—men interpret such a sign amiss. Such a view of divination would have been just such as it was the policy of an oracular priesthood to propagate. Those who worked the machinery of the great oracles were concerned to hold the balance between the doctrine that there *is* a sacred science of divination, that the gods *do* inspire their chosen ministers, and the plain lesson of experience, that inferences drawn from oracles or omens were often fallacious.[4] Pindar well represents the priestly attitude on the question, with this difference, that his external position exempts him from all suspicion of conscious imposture.

Reverence for the divine power is a strongly marked and ever-present characteristic of his work: 'everything must be ascribed to the gods as its author'; 'from the gods are all means of human excellence'; 'it is the god who gives every accomplishment to men's hopes; the god can overtake the winged eagle; he is swifter than the dolphin in the sea; he bends the necks of the haughty; he gives to others a glory that never grows old.'[5] Pindar's reluctance to relate aught that is unseemly concerning

[1] *Ol.* viii. *ad init.*

[2] *Ol.* xii. 7.

[3] *Nem.* xi. 43.

[4] A suggestive example is the story which Herodotus tells with such delightful, though unconscious, humour. After his fall, Crœsus sent to ask at Delphi whether it was the god's usual practice to deceive and ruin generous votaries. The reply was (1) that Apollo had, in fact, done his best; he had persuaded the Moiræ to delay the doom of Crœsus for some years, (2) that Crœsus had misunderstood the oracle which had emboldened him to engage in war with Cyrus.

[5] *Pyth.* v. 25 : i. 41 : ii. 49.

the gods appears in touches that, at a first glance, might remind us of Plato, or even of Euhemerus: yet his feeling as to the mythical theology seems to be essentially different from that of either. A typical case is his treatment of the story that, when the gods dined with Tantalus, they ate the flesh of his son Pelops. Pindar will not represent the gods as cannibals (*γαστριμάργους*): he prefers to believe that Poseidon, enamoured of Pelops, carried him away, like Ganymede, to Olympus; then the envious neighbours of Tantalus invented the story that Pelops had been devoured. The supposed conduct of the neighbours is, in itself, a touch of Euhemerism; it is introduced, however, not to eliminate the marvellous, but merely to help the substitution of one marvel for another. On the other hand, the poet is not concerned for the moral effect of the myth on those who hear it; in this respect his own version is no improvement; it is the dignity and decorum of the gods—as he conceives these—which he is anxious to vindicate. In other words, his rejection of scandalising myths springs from an instinct of religious reverence; it is not based on moral grounds; it is an earnest expression of the Greek repugnance to *δυσφημία*, or, in his own phrase, of the *ἀδινὸν δάκος κακαγοριᾶν*, in regard to the highest beings whom he can imagine. 'It is seemly (*ἐοικός*) to speak fair things of deities.' 'To revile the gods is a hateful work of poet's skill.'[1]

§ 7. I referred above to certain further elements which are blended in Pindar with the popular form of the Hellenic faith. The chief of these is a mystic doctrine of the soul's destiny after it has left the body. After death, the guilty soul pays penalty for all sins committed 'in this realm of Zeus'; there is a judge who tries them, 'pronouncing sentence *ἐχθρᾷ ἀνάγκᾳ*, by a dread necessity,' under a law which puts inexorable constraint upon his compassion.[2] 'Those who have had the courage to be steadfast thrice in this world, and thrice in the world of spirits, and to keep their souls utterly from wrong, ascend by the path of Zeus to the tower of Cronus; there the breezes of Ocean breathe around the Islands of the Blest; and flowers of gold are bright, some on the fair trees of that land, and some in the waters, with chains and wreaths whereof they twine their hands, by the righteous decrees

[1] *Ol.* i. 35: ix. 41.

[2] *Ol.* ii. 66.

of Rhadamanthys.'[1] The ἐς τρὶς ἑκατέρωθι μείναιτες brings before us the mystical doctrine of the myth in the *Phaedrus*. Here we see that Pindar was at least familiar with the idea of metempsychosis; how far he was a disciple of Pythagoreanism is less certain. Another passage has been taken to imply the Pythagorean doctrine of a relative ethical mean; another, a Pythagorean division of virtue as fourfold—temperance, courage, justice, prudence.[2] The impression which such utterances of Pindar leave on the mind is that he was acquainted with the teaching of Mysteries, especially, perhaps, the Orphic; that he held this doctrine as an esoteric supplement to the popular religion, harmonising them in some way which satisfied his own religious sense; but that his speculations had not taken any shape so clear or definite as to deserve the name of a philosophy. A contradiction has sometimes been felt between those passages in which he anticipates a fully conscious existence for the soul after death, determined by the moral character of the earthly life, and other passages in which he might seem rather to echo the popular language in regard to Hades, as peopled by shadows whose being is 'the lowest degree of existence above annihilation'; such a being as the Homeric Achilles conceives:—ἦ ῥά τις ἐστὶ καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισιν | ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν.[3] On a closer examination, the supposed contradiction seems to me to depend on the sense which we are to attach to a phrase in *Pyth.* v. 90 f. where he is speaking of 'holy kings who have passed to Hades' (λαχόντες Ἀΐδαν):—ἀκούοντί που χθονίᾳ φρενὶ | σφὸν ἄλβον υἱῷ τε κοινὰν χάριν: 'they hear, I ween, *with the mind of the nether world*, their own good fortune and the fame which their son shares with them.' If χθονίᾳ φρενί mean, 'with such *imperfect* consciousness as the dead possess,' then Pindar would be speaking like the Homeric Achilles. But surely this would be a strained and arbitrary construction. It is more in accord with Pindar's manner to regard χθονίᾳ as conveying a shadowy suggestion that the intelligence which belongs to the unseen world is of a different order from the intelligence of the living.

§ 8. The elastic word ἀρετή, as used by Pindar, covers all ex-

[1] *Ol.* ii. 83.

[2] *Pyth.* ii. 34 (χρὴ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ παντὸς ὁρᾶν μέτρον): *Nem.* iii. 74 (τέσσαρας ἀρετάς).

[3] *Il.* xxiii. 104.

cellence, physical, moral, and mental: though, as might have been expected, his most frequent use of the word relates to 'prowess,' especially at the festivals. One of Pindar's dominant thoughts is that φυή, native temperament—the direct gift of the gods—is the grand source of ἀρετή,[1] and that training is of comparatively slight power. The similarity of phrase might lead us to regard Pindar's depreciation of διδακταὶ ἀρεταί[2] as a forerunner of the famous οὐ διδακτὸν ἀρετή,—the paradoxical formula by which Plato expressed that 'virtue is not brought to a man, but must be drawn out of him.' There is not, however, much connection between the two sentiments which happen to have clothed themselves in like words. The ἀρετή which Pindar has in view is mainly that of the victorious athlete, to whom physical gifts are essential; and of the poet, who is 'born, not made.' He has, further, the belief—fostered by his own pride of Aegid descent—that the qualities of a good stock are hereditary. Thus he speaks of 'an upright mind derived from noble sires' (πατέρων ὀρθαὶ φρένες ἐξ ἀγαθῶν).[3] But his belief in heredity is duly guarded. 'The virtues of old time repeat their strength *at intervals* (ἀμειβόμεναι) in the generations of men; even as the black soil of the tilth yields not fruit continually, and as trees will not bear a fragrant bloom of like richness with every returning year: even thus doth Fate lead on the mortal race.'[4] Destiny—Πότμος ἄναξ (*Nem.* iv. 42)—appears with Pindar under a more benignant aspect than with his contemporary Aeschylus. For Pindar, it is rather the supreme Intelligence—the concentrated embodiment of a divine Providence—than that relentless Aeschylean 'Necessity' of which the ministers are 'the threefold Fates and the mindful Furies.'

The maxims of conduct and the moral reflections which are strewn through Pindar's poetry express the peculiarly Greek feelings about life in an earnest and sometimes beautiful form. 'One race is there of men, one race of gods; and from one mother (Earth) we both have our being; but in our power are we wholly separate; for the race of men is naught; but the brazen heaven abides, a dwelling-place steadfast for ever. Yet withal we have some likeness to the Immortals, perchance in lofty mind, perchance in form; though we know not what line Fate hath

[1] *Nem.* vii. 40.
[2] *Ol.* ix. 100.
[3] *Ol.* vii. 91.
[4] *Nem.* xi. 37.

marked for the goal of our course, whether in the day-time or in the watches of the night.'[1] 'Verily the hopes of men are oft tossed up and down, as they cleave the waves of vain deceit. . . . Many things fall out for men beyond their reckoning, sometimes adverse to joy; but sometimes they who had encountered the billows of woe have suddenly changed that trouble for bliss abounding.'[2] Time alone can show whether a seeming ill is not a blessing in disguise;[3] and Time is the only sure vindicator of truth.[4] In the very spirit of the sacred festivals, their poet says, *διάπειρα βροτῶν ἔλεγχος*, trial against their fellows is the test of men.[5] The first incentive to honourable effort is 'Shame, daughter of Forethought,'—a provident desire for the good opinion of the good.[6] A further incentive is the noble desire of *victory*, *χάρμα*, 'the light of life.'[7] And the highest worth of victory is not in the momentary triumph, but in that lasting renown which the poet can confer. 'The word lives longer than the deeds,'—*ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει*.[8] The elements of 'sane happiness' (*ὑγίεις ὄλβος*)—such as has least reason to dread the jealousy of the gods—are, substance sufficing for daily wants, and a good name among men (*εὐλογία*). He who has these must not 'seek to be a god.' To a few is given the best lot that man can attain,—*πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος*, wealth set with virtues—as gold with gems more precious still. This is 'a star exceeding brilliant, the truest light for man'; and it is so because it 'bringeth opportunity for various deeds.'[9] It would be a view very unfair to Pindar which interpreted this as mere worship of wealth. We have here the characteristically Greek conception that man's highest happiness is to be found in the unimpeded development and active exercise of all faculties, bodily and spiritual. Pindar's praise of wealth rests ultimately on the same basis as Aristotle's requirement that one should be 'adequately equipped with the external goods'—adequately, that is, for free and complete self-development. The other side is given in Pindar's own phrase: 'this, they say, is the sorest pain—that one who hath sense of noble things should

[1] *Nem.* vi. *ad init.*
[2] *Ol.* xii. 6.
[3] *Ol.* vii. 25.
[4] *Ol.* xi. 53.
[5] *Ol.* iv. 18.
[6] *Ol.* vii. 44, *Προμαθέος Αἰδώς*—whose opposite is *Ἐπιμαθέος ὀψινόου θυγατὴρ Πρόφασις*,—'Excuse, daughter of tardy Afterthought' (*Pyth.* v. 27).
[7] *Ol.* xi. 23.
[8] *Nem.* iv. 6.
[9] *Ol.* ii. 53.

perforce turn his feet away from them.'[1] The Theban poet quotes this as a well-known saying. Thebes was the scene of that banquet in 479 B.C. at which, as Herodotus relates, the Persian exclaimed to his fellow-guest, 'This is the most cruel pang that man can bear—to have much insight, but power over nothing.'[2] May not Pindar have been thinking of the same story, which had become a proverb for his native city?

§ 9. Pindar could not be one of the self-effacing poets. The conditions of his art, in those lofty hymns which celebrate victories consecrated by religion, demanded that he should come forward as the inspired envoy of the gods. If he magnifies his office, it is because the part which he fills is not only that of the minstrel; it is also closely allied to the function of the priest and of the seer (*μάντις*). We are always on dangerous ground in seeking illustrations for Greek things from non-Hellenic sources; but, with due reservations, it would not be improper to suggest an analogy between the didactic element in Pindar and the same element in Hebrew Prophecy. The personal character of Pindar is more surely indicated by the spirit of his work than by particular sentiments which occur in it; these *γνῶμαι* are of the Delphian prophet rather than of the man. We note that, while the sense of beauty which possesses his mind is normally Greek, as finding its full satisfaction in human splendour of every kind, it differs from the ordinary Greek type in a deeper sympathy with external nature. He delights in the season when, after dark winter, 'the chamber of the Hours is opened, and delicate plants perceive the fragrant spring' (*frag.* 45—where *οἰχθέντος Ὥρᾶν θαλάμου* recalls the modern Greek *ἄνοιξις*): he compares joy following sorrow to the bursting of the vernal earth into bloom (*Pyth.* iv. 64, *Isthm.* iii. 36). When Iamus prays to Apollo beneath the clear night sky (*νυκτὸς ὑπαίθριος*, *Ol.* vi. 61); when Jason, about to sail with the Argonauts, invokes 'the rushing strength of waves and winds, and the nights, and the paths of the deep' (*Pyth.* iv. 194),—the Greek words are chosen with a magic which seems to place us under the stars or on the waters of the South. Both Aeschylus and Pindar speak of Etna in volcanic eruption. But

[1] *Pyth.* iv. 288, *φαντὶ δ' ἔμμεν | τοῦτ' ἀνιαρότατον, καλὰ γινώσκοντ' ἀνάγκᾳ | ἐκτὸς ἔχειν πόδα.*

[2] *Her.* ix. 16, *'χθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν.*

Aeschylus—thoroughly Greek in this—fixes our thought on the scathe done to man's labour: 'rivers of fire shall burst forth, rending with fierce fangs the level meads of fruitful Sicily.' Pindar gives a picture of natural grandeur and terror: when Etna, 'pillar of the sky, nurse of keen snow all the year,' from secret depths hurls forth 'pure springs of fire unapproachable': and in the daytime those rivers pour out a stream of lurid smoke; but in the darkness a red rolling flame bears rocks with a roar to the wide deep' (*Pyth.* i. 20). The lines on the eclipse of the sun (*frag.* 74) are sublime. But it is not the moral sublimity of Aeschylus. Pindar never rises into the sphere of titanic battle between destiny and will. He is always of the earth, even when he is among the gods. For him, past and present are linked by the descent of men, through the heroes, from the gods; he is always thinking of the present in relation either to the heroic past, or to some change which the gods may have in store for the near future. His ethics are not subtle or original, but frankly express the common creed of 'good men' in his time: *φίλον εἴη φιλεῖν· ποτὶ δ' ἐχθρὸν ἄτ' ἐχθρὸς ἐὼν λύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθεύσομαι,* | *ἄλλ' ἄλλοτε πατέων σκολιαῖς ὁδοῖς* (*Pyth.* ii. 83): 'Friendship for friend: foe will I thwart as foe, wolf-like, with changeful course in crooked paths.' An ingenious interpretation of the context would make this a sentiment *condemned* by Pindar. But it seems to be merely the common Greek maxim of his age, that all is fair in war. Compare *Isthm.* iii. 65, where he praises a man for being in courage a lion, in craft a fox (*μῆτιν δ' ἀλώπηξ*), with the comment,—*χρὴ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντα μαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν*, ''tis well to worst a foe by any deed.' Compare the utterances of Menelaus in the *Ajax* (1132 f.), and of Creon in the *Antigone* (522).

§ 10. Pindar has much of the old epic tone, and cleaves to the old epic view of the poet as the inspired minstrel. On the other hand, he frequently evinces the sense that poetry has become an art with elaborate technical methods, and that the exercise of this art is a profession. In the *Iliad*, it will be remembered, *ἀοιδοί* appear only as the hired chanters of laments for the dead (xxiv. 720)—that is, if we except the passage (*Il.* xviii. 604), not found in any MS. of the *Iliad*, and almost certainly an interpolation, where the *ἀοιδός* plays for the dancers on the Shield of Achilles. In the *Odyssey*, the *ἀοιδός* is already a semi-pro-

fessional character; the epithet *δημιοεργός* can be applied to him as well as to the soothsayer, the physician, the herald, the carpenter; though he is still surrounded by the reverence felt for a recipient of direct inspiration. His presence restrains Aegisthus from meditated crime; nor does Aegisthus dare to shed his blood. With Pindar we have come, of course, to the age of professional rhapsodes, who bear the branch of laurel (*ῥάβδος*): *Isthm.* iii. 55:—*Ὅμηρος . . . πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν | θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν*: 'Homer hath done right to all the prowess (of Ajax), and hath made it a theme for men after-born, by the wand of his lays divine'—where *κατὰ ῥάβδον = κατὰ παράδοσιν*, the branch being the symbol of the tradition. So *Nem.* ii. 1, the rhapsodes —*Ὁμηρίδαι ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ἀοιδοί*—begin 'with a prelude to Zeus' (*Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου*). The so-called Homeric Hymns are such *προοίμια*, intended for the use of rhapsodes, and the latest of them are probably as late as Pindar's youth. Pindar's own affinity with the Homeric spirit is seen not merely in echoes of Homeric language (as *Olymp.* vi. 17, *ἀμφότερον, μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι*), but also in such touches as his tacit correction of Hesiod (*Pyth.* iii. 28). Hesiod (*frag.* 225 Goettl.) had said that a crow was the messenger who announced the infidelity of Coronis to Apollo; Pindar refers the discovery to Apollo's 'all-knowing mind' (*πάντα ἴσαντι νόῳ*), and represents him, with Homeric vigour, as reaching the scene 'at the first stride' of his immortal feet (*βάματι ἐν πρώτῳ*): cp. *Il.* xiii. 20, of Poseidon,—*τρὶς μὲν ὀρέξατ' ἰών, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἵκετο τέκμωρ.* Thoroughly Homeric, too, in spirit is Pindar's derivation of the name *Αἴας* from *αἰετός*, the eagle which was the omen of his birth, rather than from the plaintive *αἴ αἴ* to which another legend pointed: *Isthm.* v. 53, *καί νιν ὄρνιχος φανέντος κέκλετ' ἐπώνυμον εὐρυβίαν Αἴαντα.* In the same ode, 47, it may be remarked that *ἄρρηκτον φυάν* means 'stalwart,' not 'invulnerable,' and that, therefore, Pindar has not departed from Homeric sobriety by adopting the later tradition.

§ 11. Pindar's personal sympathies are strongly knit to that heroic age in which his ancestry claimed a part, and in which his own imagination could still move with such noble freedom. All the more he feels the change which has come over the *motives* of poetry. '*The men of old* lightly sent forth shafts of song that

told their loves' (*οἱ πάλαι ... ῥίμφα παιδείους ἐτόξευον ... ὕμνους*). Here he is thinking, not of Homeric epos, but of the lyric poetry which came after it,—of Alcaeus, Sappho, Ibycus, Anacreon. 'For *then* the Muse was not yet greedy of gain, nor a hireling: and sweet songs of tender sound were not yet sold by honey-voiced Terpsichore with faces made fair by silver'—(*ἀργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα*). But *now* the Muse bids heed that word of the Argive [Aristodemus] which cleaves to the paths of truth: 'Money, money maketh man,' said he, when with loss of wealth he lost his friends' (*Isthm.* ii. 1—11). The sentiment in *Pyth.* iii. 54, *ἀλλὰ κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεται* ('but even science is in bonds to gain'), has immediate reference to Cheiron's art, yet with a side-glance at the poet's own, which is constantly denoted by *σοφία*. Pindar appears to regard the contemporary poet as one whose calling has been made distinctly professional by the circumstances of his age,—by the struggle for existence, and the necessity of winning bread. On the other hand, he implicitly protests against the notion that, because it is professional, it must therefore be mercenary. The 'songs with faces made fair by silver' are poems which owe their cold glitter of flattery or false sentiment to the promise of reward. Simonides was the elder contemporary of Pindar. We are reminded of the story in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (iii. 2 § 14) that Simonides was once asked to write an *ἐπινίκιον* for a victory in the mule-car race, when, being dissatisfied with the sum offered, he declined to praise *ἡμίονοι*. But, the fee having been raised, he sang *—χαίρετ', ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων*. In Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 16 § 2, Simonides is quoted as saying to the Syracusan Hiero's wife that it is better to be *πλούσιος* than *σοφός*: and his avarice is again a subject of allusion in Arist. *Eth. N.* iv. 2 *ad fin.*, as well as in Aristophanes, *Pax*, 697 f. This illustration of Pindar's *ἀοιδὴ ἀργυρωθεῖσα πρόσωπον* might be further recommended by the fact that elsewhere he uses *πρόσωπον* figuratively of the front or *opening* of a poem. In *Nem.* viii. 37:—*χρυσὸν εὔχονται, πεδίον δ' ἕτεροι | ἀπέραντον· ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἀδὼν καὶ χθονὶ γυῖα καλύψαιμ', | αἰνέων αἰνητά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς*: 'Some pray for gold and some for boundless land; mine be it to have pleased my folk e'en till I lay my limbs in earth, still praising things worthy of praise, but sowing censure for evil doers.' It is, I venture to think, a mistaken cynicism which

would regard this utterance as conventional. Rather may we believe that one of Pindar's distinctions among contemporary poets was just the desire to raise his art, by the free and earnest exercise of original genius, above the reproach of a sordid servility,—from which, as Aristotle shows, even such a man as Simonides was not exempt. We may infer this, not merely from detached texts, but from Pindar's poetry as a whole, and from the spirit which study can discern to be the animating and dominant influence. He claims that he is independent—giving praise only where it is due. Note, as illustrating this, a well-marked trait of the Odes—Pindar's insistence on the merit of the trainer or the charioteer, even where this might somewhat detract from the lustre of the victor for whom the ode is written. Thus at Aegina, where there was a strong jealousy of Athens, he insists—though he shows his consciousness that the topic will not be popular—on doing justice to the Athenian trainer Melesias (*Ol.* viii. 54). He even can say that the trainer is to the victor as Achilles to Patroclus (*Olymp.* xi. 19). He does not shrink from reproving the king of Cyrene for harshness to a kinsman, or the tyrant of Syracuse for listening to flatterers. He says of a successful boxer that he is *ὀνοτὸς μὲν ἰδέσθαι*, 'mean to look upon' (*Isthm.* iii. 68), though *συμπεσεῖν ἀκμᾷ βαρύς*, 'sore to meet in his strength.' Pindar is not (to my thinking) deficient in tenderness; but he has too much truth of nature to be sentimental. 'A son born in wedlock is dear to a father who is now moving on the path that wends away from youth; yea, it warmeth his soul with love; *for* when wealth is doomed to be the charge of an alien sought from without, 'tis most grievous to the dying' (*Olymp.* ix. 86). Universally, Pindar's tone resembles nothing less than that of a hireling encomiast or a courtly flatterer. Even towards the most illustrious of the victors, his attitude is invariably that of an equal, and of one who is privileged to teach, to exhort, and, if need be, to rebuke. We shall readily understand this if we remember the value, for his own day in Greece, of his threefold claim—Aegid descent, intimate relation with the worship of Apollo, and poetical genius.

§ 12. The task proposed to Pindar by those forms of poetry which he cultivated may be described in his own words. It was—*φόρμιγγά τε ποικιλόγαρυν καὶ βοὰν αὐλῶν ἐπέων τε*

θέσιν | συμμίξαι πρεπόντως: 'meetly to blend the cithern's various voice, and the sounding flutes, and verses set thereto' (*Olymp.* iii. 8). And so the teacher of the chorus, whose duty was to superintend the choral rehearsals of an ode, is called *γλυκὺς κρατὴρ ἀγαφθέγκτων ἀοιδᾶν* (*Olymp.* vi. 91), one who '*sweetly tempers* resounding strains'; who sees that the flutes do not overpower the cithern, or either the words, but that the several elements are blended in a harmonious whole. Compare *Olymp.* xiv. 15, *Λυδίῳ γὰρ Ἀσώπιχον ἐν τρόπῳ | ἔν τε μελέταις ἀείδων ἔμολον*: 'I have come [to Orchomenus], hymning Asopichus in Lydian mood, by voices of ripe skill': literally, 'in the Lydian mood, and by aid of practisings': where *ἐν Λυδίῳ τρόπῳ* refers to the poet's composition, and *ἐν μελέταις* to the rehearsals of the chorus. This point is missed by translating *μελέταις* simply 'strains'—a sense to which it surely cannot be reduced. We have some glimpses of the long technical development through which, before Pindar's day, Greek lyric poetry had passed; as in the reference to the improvement of the dithyramb (*Olymp.* xiii. 18); to the *πολυκέφαλος νόμος* said to have been invented by Olympus or Crates (*κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμον*, *Pyth.* xii. 23); to the *ὕμνου τεθμὸς Ὀλυμπιονίκας* (*Olymp.* vii. 88); and in the contrast between the *καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος*,—the so-called 'song of Archilochus,' with the refrain *τήνελλα καλλίνικε*—and a more elaborate ode in praise of a victor (*Olymp.* ix. 1). Pindar's art demanded laborious studies in metre, in music, and in the adaptation of both to *ὀρχηστική*—the highly intricate systems of the choral dance. Tradition gives him several instructors—Scopelinus, Agathocles or Apollodorus, Lâsus of Hermione—not to mention the criticisms of Corinna. Good teaching, he says, can give a keener edge to native power (*θήξαις κε φύντ' ἀρετᾷ*, *Olymp.* xi. 20). But, wherever he alludes to the poet's craft, he dwells on the distinction between acquired skill and the inborn gift. *Olymp.* ii. 86:—*σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ· μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι | παγγλωσσίᾳ, κόρακες ὥς, ἄκραντα γαρύετον | Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον*: 'The bard is he whose mind is rich by nature's gift; men shaped by lore have sound and fury effecting nought; 'tis the chattering of crows against the godlike bird of Zeus.' *Olymp.* ix. 100:—*τὸ δὲ φυᾷ κράτιστον ἅπαν· πολλοὶ δὲ διδακταῖς | ἀνθρώπων ἀρεταῖς κλέος | ὤρουσαν*

ἀρέσθαι· | ἄνευ δὲ θεοῦ σεσιγαμένον | οὐ σκαιότερον χρῆμ' ἕκαστον· ἐντὶ γὰρ ἄλλαι | ὁδῶν ὁδοὶ περαίτεραι, | μία δ' οὐχ ἅπαντας ἄμμε θρέψει | μελέτα· σοφίαι μὲν αἰπειναί: 'Nature's gift is alway best; but many men have strained to win renown by feats whereto they had been schooled. Yet, where the god is not, a truer instinct ever counsels silence; paths are there beyond paths; one training will not form us all; the heights of art are steep.' *Nem.* iii. 40:—*συγγενεῖ δέ τις εὐδοξίᾳ μέγα βρίθει· | ὃς δὲ διδάκτ' ἔχει, ψεφηνὸς ἀνὴρ | ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα πνέων οὔποτ' ἀτρεκεῖ | κατέβα ποδί, μυριᾶν δ' ἀρετᾶν ἀτελεῖ | νόῳ γενέται.* 'Born with him is the power that makes a man's name great; but whoso hath the fruits of lore alone, he walks in a vain shadow; his spirit veers with every breeze; he never plants a sure foot in the lists; he dallies with ambitions numberless, but his mind achieves not one.'

§ 13. The third Nemean cannot be dated; but another of the odes just quoted, the second Olympian (for Thero of Acragas) is of 476 B.C.; and in the second Pythian—of 477 B.C.—occurs the well-known passage in which Pindar warns Hiero of Syracuse against flatterers,—adding that those who seek to snatch an unfair start (*στάθμας . . . ἑλκόμενοι περισσᾶς*, v. 90) sometimes overreach themselves. It can scarcely be doubted that the emphatic contrast of poetical *φυή* and *μάθησις* has some personal reference. But I cannot believe that Simonides is the person intended. His *avarice* is probably (as suggested above) an object of Pindar's allusion elsewhere; but, so far as we can now judge, the work of Simonides bore a stamp so distinctive that it would have been unmeaning to speak of him as devoid of native faculty. In 476 B.C., however, Bacchylides, the nephew of Simonides, was still a young poet; about that time—the year is doubtful—he had written on a victory won at Olympia by a horse of Hiero's called Pherenicus—which (or a namesake) is mentioned in Pindar's first Olympian ode (472 B.C.); and he was probably rising into notice at the courts of the Sicilian princes, where the established fame of Simonides would afford a favourable introduction. Now, one of the fragments of Bacchylides (Bergk, no. 17) runs:—*ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφὸς τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν· | οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾴστον ἀρρήτων ἐπέων πύλας | ἐξευρεῖν*: 'bard follows bard [*i.e.* poet teaches poet by example]: for 'tis no light quest to find the gates of unattempted

song' [to devise a thoroughly original strain]; where ἀρρήτων means,—*not* 'unspeakable' (like Milton's 'inexpressive' song),—but '*unspoken*,' unsung before: cp. Soph. *Antig.* 556, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀρρήτοις γε τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις. This is the sentiment of one who viewed lyric poetry as a traditional art—as, indeed it was, and an art of elaborate method—without any strong consciousness of original genius. Nay, we should do no force to the words if we read in them an implied tribute from the nephew to the uncle who had been his master and his model. When Pindar depreciates the singer who is a mere pupil of others; when he says that 'one training will not form us all,' or lift the uninspired man to the heights of poetry; may he not be hinting that the young Bacchylides—a new competitor for Sicilian laurels—was only a feeble echo of Simonides? In an ode written for Hiero in 474 B.C. Pindar expresses the hope of 'surpassing rivals' (ἀμεύσασθ' ἀντίους, *Pyth.* i. 45): he touches on the baneful power of envy and slander,—but adds, 'yet forego not noble aims; 'tis better to be envied than pitied' (κρέσσων γὰρ οἰκτιρμοῦ φθόνος, *ib.* 85). The tone of this and other passages is (to my mind) not that of a jealous man, but of one who is maintaining an attitude of defence against calumny; and it is difficult to resist the impression that, at this time, Pindar had been the object of some hostile intrigue at Hiero's court, which he associated with the desire of Simonides to advance the fortunes of a young kinsman more distinguished by diligence than by originality.

§ 14. Next, remark the distinctness with which Pindar claims, not only native faculty (φυή), but novelty of style and treatment. 'Awake for them a strain of clear-toned verse; praise thou old wine, but *newer* flowers of song' (αἴνει δὲ παλαιὸν μὲν οἶνον, ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων | νεωτέρων. *Olymp.* ix. 48). The Muse stands by his side and inspires him to devise a strain 'of glossy newness' (νεοσίγαλον εὑρόντι τρόπον, *Olymp.* iii. 4). And in *Olymp.* ix. 80 he clearly marks the qualities which he regards as peculiarly his own:—εἴην εὑρησιεπὴς ἀναγεῖσθαι | πρόσφορος ἐν Μοισᾶν δίφρῳ· | τόλμα δὲ καὶ ἀμφιλαφὴς δύναμις ἕσποιτο. 'Mine be it to invent new strains, mine the skill to hold my course in the chariot of the Muses; and may courage go with me, and power of ample grasp.' 'If the theme ordained be praise of fortune high, or might of hand, or steel-clad war, ho, trace

me a far line for my leap; I have light vigour in my limbs: yea, eagles whirl their flight beyond the deep' (*Nem.* v. 19). What were the principal traits in which Pindar's originality consisted? In so far as it resided in metrical novelties, in new adjustments of metre to music and dancing, we have no longer any precise gauge for it, since we have no sufficiently large examples of contemporary work in the same kind. But there are at least some aspects of his work which we can more confidently recognise as original. One of these is his treatment of the heroic legends which he interwove with his celebration of victories. It may often be remarked that his claim of novelty is made as the immediate prelude to the introduction of such a legend. Thus in *Olymp.* iii. 4—14 such a claim prefaces the story of Heracles having brought the Olympian olive from the land of the Hyperboreans; in *Olymp.* ix. 49 it prepares the mention of the flood, with the mythical derivation of the Opuntian heroes from the λίθινος γόνος of Deucalion and Pyrrha; in *Nem.* v. 19 it leads up to the legend of the favours which the gods bestowed on the Aeacidae of old. *Allusion* to local or family myths must have been a familiar resource of the lyrical, as it was of the rhetorical, panegyrist. But we can well believe that no poet before Pindar had shown such boldness or such varied ingenuity in linking his immediate subject with mythical themes which were neither obvious nor trite. In cases such as those just mentioned, Pindar seems to be calling attention to the daring ease of his own transitions. Further, he does not merely introduce mythology as a background to the scene of the festivals, but often elaborates a particular episode so as to give it the separate value of a small but highly finished picture set in the massive framework of the ode. Such a picture is the birth of Iamos (*Olymp.* vi.); the vision of Bellerophon (*Olymp.* xiii.); the rape of Cyrene (*Pyth.* ix.); the infant Heracles (*Nem.* i.); the death of Castor (*Nem.* x.); Heracles predicting the birth of Ajax (*Isthm.* v.). This mode of treatment I should conceive to have been one marked trait of Pindar's originality,—exhibiting his wide and complete command of epic material in a form shared by no other Greek lyrist. In saying this, I do not forget the exquisite *Danae* of Simonides; but that, apparently, was a piece complete in itself, not a gem adorning a larger piece on another subject.

Pindar is fond of the phrase *δαιδαλλειν*: the image might well express his own manner of inlaying his odes with these mythical subjects.

The fourth Pythian ode is the largest and most brilliant example; it also illustrates with peculiar clearness Pindar's art of rapid transition from theme to myth, and from myth back to theme. The Muse is invoked to sing the victory of Arcesilas, king of Cyrene, at Delphi; *where* (*ἔνθα*, v. 4) that oracle was given which sent Battus, the founder of the dynasty, from Thera to colonise Cyrene: *and* (*καί*, v. 9) thus to fulfil the prophecy of Medea. 'Now she spake thus (*εἶπε δ' οὕτως*) to the heroes who sailed with the warrior Jason'; and then the story of her prophecy is related (vv. 11—59). 'Such were Medea's prophetic strains; with bowed heads, mute and motionless, the godlike heroes stood, as they hearkened to the rede of her wisdom.' Here the poet returns to Battus (v. 59). 'Thee, happy son of Polymnéstus, loyal to Medea's word, the oracle of the Delphic bee lifted to honour by a summons which thou hadst not sought,—who bade thee thrice hail, and declared thee Cyrene's destined king';—and from Battus the eighth in descent is Arcesilas, 'on whom Apollo and Pytho have bestowed glory of the chariot-race among all who dwell around. To the Muses will I give him for their theme, *and the golden fleece of the ram; for 'twas in quest thereof that the Minyae had sailed, when heaven-sent honours were planted for his house*': *ἀπὸ δ' αὐτὸν Μοίσαισι δώσω | καὶ τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριοῦ· μετὰ γὰρ | κεῖνο πλευσάντων Μινυᾶν θεόπομποί | σφισιν* [*i.e.* for the Battiadae] *τιμαὶ φύτευθεν.* Note the bold simplicity of the transition here from Arcesilas, the immediate theme of the ode, to the myth of the Argonauts. Now, from v. 70 to v. 246, that myth is presented in a series of splendid pictures; the coming of Jason to Iolcus; the scene between Jason and Pelias; the sailing of the Argo; the ploughing with the brazen bulls of Aetes. The slaying of the dragon which guarded the fleece, the flight of Medea with Jason, and his triumphant return, were subjects which Pindar could have treated with equal splendour, and which a less daring poet might even have regarded as forming the indispensable climax. But at this point a constraining sense of *καιρός* makes Pindar feel that he must return from

myth to theme,—from Jason to Arcesilas; and observe how he manages it. (v. 247.) *μακρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμαξιτόν· ὥρα γὰρ συνάπτει· | καί τινα οἶμον ἴσαμι βραχύν· πολλοῖσι δ' ἄγημαι σοφίας ἑτέροις. | κτεῖνε μὲν γλαυκῶπα τέχναις ποικιλώτατον ὄφιν, | ὦ Ἀρκεσίλα, κ.τ.λ.* 'Tis far for me to fare along the well-worn track: time urges; yea, and I know a speedy path; *to many have I shown the ways of song.* The speckled dragon with the glaring eyes he slew, *Arcesilas,* by wiles . . .' Remark the skill of the abrupt vocative, which at once turns our thoughts back to the primary theme. A few rapid verses now carry us from Colchis to Lemnos—where the Argonaut Euphemus begat the ancestry of Battus—and from Lemnos to Cyrene, the realm committed by Apollo to 'the upright counsels' of the dynasty which Arcesilas represents. This directly leads to a criticism—veiled in the beautiful allegory of the oak—on the sentence by which Arcesilas has lopped a goodly branch from the tree of the Cyrenean State; and the ode concludes with a noble and touching plea for Damophilus, the banished kinsman of the prince.

It is interesting to note the connection of the words quoted above—*πολλοῖσι δ' ἄγημαι σοφίας ἑτέροις.* He is cutting short an epic narrative in a fashion altogether his own. The *οἶμος βραχύς* which he claims to know is the art of *swift* passage from myth back to theme; and he says that he can exercise this art with confident tact, being, in truth, the leader who has shown lyric poets how mythical ornament may be a source of endless variety and novelty in the handling of contemporary topics. The fourth Pythian ode forcibly exemplifies the *δύναμις ἀμφιλαφής* (*Olymp.* ix. 80), the 'power of ample grasp,' to which, as we saw, he aspires; and also the meaning of *ἀναγεῖσθαι ἐν Μοισᾶν δίφρῳ* (*ib.*)—'to hold the onward course' of a continuous epic recital.

§ 15. Pindar's language has a character distinct from that of every other Greek poet known to us. A comparison with the lyric parts of tragedy serves only to bring out this distinction more clearly. The modern reader finds this language, for the most part, exceedingly difficult and obscure; even when he is familiar with it, it still taxes the attention. The ultimate source of this difficulty is the continual demand on the imagination; and I believe that ease in reading Pindar can in large measure

be attained by a clear perception of certain general forms in which his thought tends to clothe itself. It is with the view of illustrating these forms that I give the following notes—as contributions to the outline of an analysis which the student can develop for himself.

Metaphor is not reserved for occasional ornament, but is habitually used for the translation of common thoughts or phrases. 'Having passed out of the ranks of youths,' ἐξελθὼν ἐφηβείων, becomes with Pindar, συλαθεὶς ἀγενείων (*Olymp.* ix. 95), 'torn from the beardless company.' 'He is deprived of joy,' ἀπέστερηται εὐφροσύνης, becomes 'he is in banishment from joy,' εὐφροσύνας ἀλᾶται (*Ol.* i. 58). 'It is near to madness,' ἐγγύς ἐστι μανιῶν, becomes μανίαισιν ὑποκρέκει (*Olymp.* ix. 42), 'it sounds a note attuned to frenzy,'—a phrase suggested by the common συνάδει, 'is accordant with.' 'Deep desire of *pursuing*' (various ambitions,—including victory in the games), is βαθεῖα μέριμνα ἀγροτέρα (*Ol.* ii. 60), 'deep desire *of the chase*,' where ἀγροτέρα is a bold figure for τοῦ διώκειν. 'The lyre bestows fame,' is λύρα ἀναπάσσει χάριν (*Ol.* xi. 98),—'sprinkles grace,'—like flowers. A cloak is 'a warm remedy for winds,' εὐδίαι ὧν φάρμακον αὐρᾶν (*Ol.* ix. 104). A bridle is a 'soothing spell,' or 'charm,' for a horse: φάρμακον πραΰ, φίλτρον ἵππειον (*Ol.* xiii. 82, 65). An anchor is 'swift Argo's bridle,' θοᾶς Ἀργοῦς χαλινός (*Pyth.* iv. 25). 'To send a shout along the line,' is not παραπέμπειν, but παραιθύσσειν θόρυβον (*Ol.* xi. 76), 'to send it rippling along.' 'To raise one's prosperity,' not αἴρειν, but πέμπειν ἀνεκὰς ὄλβον (*Ol.* ii. 24,—where the metaphor may be from a wheel). 'To be in the decline of life' is ἵκειν νεώτατος τὸ πάλιν ἤδη (*Ol.* xi. 91) 'to be moving now in the opposite direction from youth': contrast the ἕρπουσαν πρόσω ἥβην of Sophocles. 'He has his share in offerings to the dead,' μέμικται ἐν αἱμακουρίαις (*Ol.* i. 90). 'It enables one to judge of it,' δίδωσιν ἔλεγχον περὶ ἑαυτῆς, becomes δίδωσι ψαύειν περ' αὐτᾶς. 'The thunderbolt, that hath part in every victory of Zeus,' is expressed by the strangely bold ἐν ἅπαντι κράτει κεραυνὸν ἀραρότα (*Ol.* xi. 87). To enjoy, or cherish, happiness,—ὄλβον ἄρδειν (*Ol.* v. 23), where the metaphor is from watering a garden. To hold themes in reserve, τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα γλῶσσα ποιμαίνειν ἐθέλει (*Ol.* x. 9). To show pleasure at good news (said of friends), σαίνειν ποτὶ γλυκείαν ἀγγελίαν

(*Ol.* iv. 5). To pass through life prosperously, *κούφοισιν ἐκνεῦσαι ποσίν* (*Ol.* xiii. 109). Grief is more than compensated by blessings, *πένθος πιτνεῖ κρεσσόνων πρὸς ἀγαθῶν* (*Ol.* ii. 23).

§ 16. Images for the highest excellence are drawn from the furthest limits of travel and navigation, or from the fairest of natural objects. Pindar delights in what may be called *the imagery of the superlative*. Thus, of consummate good fortune (in the games, &c.):—*ἅπτεται οἰκόθεν Ἡρακλέος σταλᾶν*: 'in his own strength he touches the Pillars of Hercules.' *Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον οὐ περατόν· ἀπότρεπε | αὖτις Εὐρώπαν ποτὶ χέρσον ἔντεα ναός* (*Nem.* iv. 70), 'none may pass beyond Gadeira into the gloom of the West: to Europa's land turn back the tackle of our ship.' *περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον | πλόον· ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἂν εὕροις | ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυματὰν ὁδόν* (*Pyth.* x. 30): 'he fares as far as man may sail: not by sea or land couldst thou find the wondrous way to the gathering of the folk that dwell beyond the Northern Wind.' *ἐσχατιὰς ἤδη πρὸς ὄλβου | βάλλετ' ἄγκυραν θεότιμος ἐών* (*Isthm.* vi. 11): 'now at the limits of bliss he casts his anchor, having glory from the gods.' The supreme hospitality of a man who kept open house all the year round is thus figured: *ἐπέρα ποτὶ μὲν Φᾶσιν θερείαις, | ἐν δὲ χειμῶνι πλέων Νείλου πρὸς ἀκτάς* (*Isthm.* ii. 42): 'far as to Phasis was his voyage in summer days, and in winter to the shores of Nile.' Such imagery is of peculiar interest as recalling the wide area of Greek colonisation in Pindar's time, and the impulse with which commerce was carrying Greek sailors to the bounds of the known earth, still bordered by a region of wonder and fable to the west and the north of the Mediterranean. Again, a victor's merits are countless as the sand:—*ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφευγεν* (*Olymp.* ii. 108): Olympia is 'the crown' of festivals—*κορυφὰ ἀέθλων*—where the image is from a mountain-peak: or the flower, *ἄωτος*: it is excellent as water,—bright as that gold which shines among all possessions as a fire by night,—brilliant as the sun in the noon-day sky (*Ol.* i. *ad init.*).

§ 17. Pindar's figurative language often seems to *invert* the natural mode of expression: as *ἀκέρδεια λέλογχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρος* (*i.e. κακαγόρους*, *Ol.* i. 53 'Misfortune hath oft marked slanderers for her own,' instead of *κακαγόροι λελόγχασιν ἀκέρ-*

δειαν. So ἤδη με γηραιὸν μέρος ἁλικίας ἀμφιπολεῖ (*Pyth.* iv. 137), 'the evening of life is already closing around my path.' ἱερὸν ἔσχον οἴκημα ποταμοῦ, Σικελίας τ' ἔσαν | ὀφθαλμός, αἰών τ' ἔφεπε μορσιμος (*Ol.* ii. 9), 'they won the sacred home beside the river, and were the light of Sicily, and life went with them to man's due term'—*i.e.* they were not cut off by premature deaths. λαγέτας ἕξ, ἀρεταῖσι μεμαλότας υἱούς (*Ol.* i. 89), 'chieftains six, sons dear to chivalry.' νμμε δ' ἐκλάρωσεν πότμος | Ζηνὶ γενεθλίῳ (*Ol.* viii. 15), 'Destiny hath given you for his own to Zeus, your fathers' god': *i.e.* you are under his peculiar care. ἔδωκ' Ἀπόλλων θῆρας αἰνῷ φόβῳ (*Pyth.* v. 56), 'Apollo made the fierce beasts a prey to terror.' κράτει προσέμιξε δεσπόταν (*Ol.* i. 22), 'he brought his master to the goal of victory.' It will be seen that the distinctive character of such expressions depends on *a personification, not express, but implied*; or (as in the last instance) on the conception of an abstract idea—such as κράτος—in the form of a concrete object, such as a goal (or perhaps a person) awaiting the runner at the end of the race-course.

§ 18. Pindar is especially fertile in similitudes for poetical effort. The most striking class of such images is that derived from the contests of the festivals. Thus:—(i.) *javelin-throwing.* αἰνῆσαι μενοινῶν ἔλπομαι | μὴ χαλκοπάραον ἄκοντ' ὠσείτ' ἀγῶνος βαλεῖν ἔξω παλάμᾳ δονέων (*Pyth.* i. 43), 'fain to praise, I have hope not to go wide of due aim, when I hurl the javelin, bronze-armed, that quivers in mine hand.' (ii.) *The chariot-race.* ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ξεῦξον ἤδη μοι σθένος ἡμιόνων . . . χρὴ τοίνυν πυλας ὕμνων ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς (*Ol.* vi. 27). Phintis was the charioteer who had gained the victory. Characteristically Pindaric is the identification of the *actual* chariot with the chariot of song in which the poet is to be borne:—'Ho, Phintis, yoke for me the strength of thy mules, that we may urge our chariot in swift and free career, till I come e'en to the lineage of the race (the victor's ancestry); they, best of all, know how to lead us on this path, since they have won crowns at Olympia; therefore must the gates of song be thrown wide at their coming.' (iii.) *The leap.* μακρὰ δὴ αὐτόθεν ἅλμαθ' ὑποσκάπτοι τις· ἔχω γονάτων ἐλαφρὸν ὁρμάν (*Nem.* v. 19)—noticed above. Other images occur which, though not taken from the games, are similar. The song is often compared to an

αἰτεῖν : *πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη | ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας | φωνάντα συνετοῖσιν ἔπεχε νυν σκοπῷ τόξον. ἄγε, θυμέ, τίνα βάλλομεν | ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὖτε φρενὸς εὐκλέας ὀιστοὺς ἱέντες* ; 'many swift arrows are there in the quiver beneath my arm, shafts with a message for the wise. Bend now thy bow against the mark. Say, whom are we to strike, my soul, when once again from gentle fantasy we send the arrows of glorious song?' Notice the 'confusion of metaphor'—as we should call it—in *βέλη φωνάντα, εὐκλέας οἰστούς*, &c. A remarkably bold use of the arrow metaphor occurs in *Ol.* ix. 5, *Μοισᾶν ἀπὸ τόξων | Δία τε φοινικοστερόπαν σεμνόν τ' ἐπίνειμαι | ἀκρωτήριον Ἀλιδος | τοιοῖσδε βέλεσσιν* : 'enter on the theme of Zeus, who sends the lightning's glare, enter on the holy mount of Elis [the *Κρόνιον*] with such shafts from the Muses' bow.' Again, the poet's tidings bear the victor's fame 'swifter than gallant steed or winged ship'—*καὶ ἀγάνορος ἵππου | θᾶσσον καὶ ναὸς ὑποπτέρου* (*Ol.* ix. 23). The poet is as one who sets forth on a voyage of happy promise : *εἰ ἀνθέα δ' ἀναβάσομαι στόλον ἀμφ' ἀρετᾷ κελαδέων* (*Pyth.* ii. 62) : 'Sounding the praise of valour, I will mount the flower-crowned prow.' Another place where the same image occurs affords a striking example of two incongruous metaphors brought close together :—*κώπαν σχάσον, ταχὺ δ' ἄγκυραν ἔρεισον χθονὶ | πρῴραθε, χοιράδος ἄλκαρ πέτρας. | ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων | ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον* (*Pyth.* x. 51) : 'stay the oar ; let the anchor from the prow quickly grip the earth, that we strike not on a sunken reef ; for the bright wing of the songs of praise is darting like a bee from flower to flower.' The poet's province is 'the choice garden of the Graces,' (*ἐξαίρετον χαρίτων νέμομαι κᾶπον, Ol.* ix. 27); he tills the field of Aphrodite or the Graces (*Ἀφροδίτας ἄρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων ἀναπολίζομεν, Pyth.* vi. 1). An image for a *digression* is suggested by those 'Branching Roads'—the *σχιστὴ ὁδός* near Daulis in Phocis—which Pindar must so often have passed on his way from Thebes to Delphi : *ἦ ῥ', ὦ φίλοι, κατ' ἀμευσίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινάθην, ὀρθὰν κέλευθον ἰὼν τοπρίν (Pyth.* xi. 38) : 'verily, friends, I have lost my bearings at such a meeting of three roads as leadeth men to change their course, though before I was wending on a straight path :'—where *ἐδινάθην* seems to suggest the idea of turning quickly round and round until one no longer knows the points of the

compass. The thought which inspires a strain is compared to the whetstone which sharpens the knife,—and here, again, note the mixture of metaphors: *δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσᾳ ἀκόι λιγυρᾶς, | ἅ μ' ἐθέλοντα προσέρπει καλλιρόοισι πνοαῖς* (*Ol.* vi. 82): 'I have a thought upon my lips that lends keen motive to my song; it woos my willing soul with the spirit of fair-flowing strains.' The image of the whetstone recurs in *Isthm.* v. 72: *φαίης κέ νιν ἀνδράσιν ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν | Ναξίαν πέτραις ἐν ἄλλαις χαλκοδάμαντ' ἀκόναν*: 'well mightest thou say, such is he among athletes as the stone of Naxos among stones, the grinding whet that gives an edge to bronze.'

With regard to this metaphor, as to many others in Greek lyrics which are apt to strike us as harsh or even grotesque, there is a general principle which ought, I think, to be clearly perceived. Most Indo-European nouns expressed some one obvious and characteristic quality of the object which they denoted: *e.g. ναῦς* is 'the swimmer,' *δρῦς*, 'the thing which is cleft,' &c. Similarly, *ἀκόνη* is the *sharpener*, *κρατήρ* is the *mixer*, &c. A Greek who called a thought an *ἀκόνη* was thus using a less startling image than we should use in calling it a *whetstone*; to call the teacher of a chorus a *κρατήρ* was not the same thing as it would be for us to call him a *bowl*. And such phrases are less audacious in proportion as they are old,—*i.e.* near to the time when the language was still freshly conscious of the primary sense in such words as *ἀκόνη*.

§ 19. The range of Pindar's comparisons for his own art would not have been completely surveyed if we overlooked some of a more familiar or even homely kind. Poets are 'the cunning builders' of song (*τέκτονες οἷα σοφοὶ ἄρμοσαν*, *Pyth.* iii. 113). An ode is sent over the sea 'like Phoenician merchandise' (*κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἐμπολάν*, *Pyth.* ii. 67). The poet's mind is a register of promised songs, in which a particular debt can be searched out: *ἀνάγνωτέ μοι | Ἀρχεστράτου παῖδα, πόθι φρενὸς ἐμᾶς γεγραπται*· 'read me where the son of Archestratus [an Olympian victor] is written in my memory' (*Ol.* xi. 1). Ample praise, long deferred, is *τόκος*, payment with interest (*ib.* 9). The trainer who faithfully conveys the poet's thoughts to the chorus is *ἄγγελος ὀρθός*, *ἡνιόχων σκυτάλα Μοισᾶν* (*Ol.* vi. 91), 'an upright envoy, interpreter from man to man of the Muses with the beauteous hair:'

the point of *σκυτάλη* being that the message would not be intelligible if carried by one who was not in *exact* possession of Pindar's ideas. The cithern is invoked as *Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἰοπλοκάμων | σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον* (*Pyth.* i. 1), '*witness* for Apollo and the Muses with violet locks, whose thou art:' cp. *Ol.* ix. 98, *σύνδικος αὐτῷ Ἰολάου | τύμβος εἰναλία τ' Ἐλευσὶς ἀγλαΐαισιν*, 'the tomb of Iolaus [at Thebes] and Eleusis by the sea is *witness* to his glories.'

In other connections also Pindar can use homely images, which link his lofty style with the idiom and proverbial philosophy of daily life. Thus:—*ἵστω γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ πεδίλῳ δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων | Σωστράτου υἱός* (*Ol.* vi. 8); 'yea, let the son of Sostratus know that in this sandal he hath his foot, by grace divine': *i.e.* stands in this case. One recalls the famous *σὺ μὲν ἔρραψας τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα, Ἀρισταγόρας δὲ ὑπεδύσατο* (Her. vi. 2). Then, of bearing adversity:—*τὰ μὲν ὧν οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμῳ φέρειν, | ἀλλ' ἀγαθοί, τὰ καλὰ τρέψαντες ἔξω* (*Pyth.* iii. 83): 'now the foolish cannot bear ills in seemly wise, but the noble can, when they have turned the fair side outward,' *i.e.* brave men in misfortune show a cheerful front to the world, and conceal the seamy side of their fortune. The process of dyeing or staining suggests *οὐ ψεύδεϊ τέγξω λόγον* (*Ol.* iv. 17). An inglorious youth is likened to the *ἐνδομάχας ἀλέκτωρ* (*Ol.* xii. 14), 'the chanticleer who fights at home.' In *Ol.* xi. 37, we read of a city *βαθὺν εἰς ὀχετὸν ἄτας | ἵζοισαν*,—'settling into the deep bed of ruin'—a singularly vivid image from the action of running water on the basements of buildings. The idea of wiping off a stain, rather than that of transferring a burden, seems to have suggested the extraordinarily bold imagery of *Ol.* viii. 68, *ἐν τέτρασιν παίδων ἀπεθήκατο γυίοις | νόστον ἔχθιστον καὶ ἀτιμοτέραν γλῶσσαν καὶ ἐπίκρυφον οἶμον*: 'On the bodies of four youths hath he put off from him the doom of joyless return, and slighted voice, and furtive path.' The *ἐξομόργνυσθαί μωρίαν τινί* of Euripides is tame in comparison with this,—which surely no Greek but Pindar could have written.

§ 20. The natural *order of words* is sometimes deranged in a way which can be explained only by the exacting requirements of the intricate metres. Thus *Ol.* viii. 5, *μαιομένων μεγάλαν | ἀρετὰν θυμῷ λαβεῖν*, means 'yearning in heart to

achieve great prowess,' *not* 'yearning to seize great prowess in their thoughts,' to conceive it. In *Ol.* iv. 1, *τεαὶ γὰρ ὧραι | ὑπὸ ποικιλοφόρμιγγος ἀοιδᾶς ἑλισσόμεναί μ' ἔπεμψαν*, the sense is: 'thy seasons, as they come round, have sent me with the cithern's varied strains.' In *Pyth.* iv. 24, *ἄγκυραν ποτὶ χαλκόγεννυν | ναὶ κρημνάντων*, 'hanging the anchor of biting bronze to the ship,' the place of *ποτί* is very harsh. In the same ode, 214, *ποικίλαν ἴυγγα τετράκναμον Οὐλυμπόθεν | ἐν ἀλύτῳ ζεύξαισα κύκλῳ | μαινάδ' ὄρνιν Κυπρογένεια φέρεν | πρῶτον ἀνθρώποισι*, the whole order is strangely involved: 'The Cyprus-born queen first brought from Olympus to men the speckled wry-neck, the maddening bird, when she had bound it fast upon a four-spoked wheel.' In v. 106, *ἀρχαίαν κομίζων . . . τιμάν*, the last word is separated by three lines from the former. A very strong instance is *Isthm.* iii. 36, *μετὰ χειμέριον ποικίλων μηνῶν ζόφον χθὼν ὥτε φοινικέοισιν ἄνθησεν ῥόδοις*, 'as, after the *gloom of winter*, the earth blossoms with the red roses *of the many-coloured months*,'—where the position of *ποικίλων μηνῶν* between *χειμέριον* and *ζόφον* is one for which it would be hard to find a parallel.

§ 21. Apart from such dislocations, Pindar's syntax is rarely difficult. I would note the following points: (1.) Co-ordination of clauses (parataxis) is preferred to subordination (hypotaxis), —an epic feature of which the peculiarly Pindaric form is concerned with the introduction of a simile: as in *Ol.* i. 3, *εἰ δ' ἄεθλα γαρύεν | ἔλδεαι, . . . μηκέτ' ἀελίου σκόπει | ἄλλο θαλπνότερον . . . ἄστρον, . . . μηδ' | Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα φέρτερον αὐδάσομεν*, instead of saying, *ὥσπερ οὐκ ἂν σκοποῖς, οὕτω μηδ' αὐδήσωμεν*. Cp. *Olymp.* ii. 98. (2.) The so-called *σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν* or *Βοιωτικόν* (singular verb with plural subject) occurs in *Ol.* x. 5, (*τέλλεται*,—where, as Fennell suggests, it would be much softened if we read *ἀρχή*,) in *Pyth.* x. 71 (*κεῖται*: where W. Christ gives *κεῖνται*); frag. 53, 15 (*βάλλεται . . . φόβαι, ἀχεῖταί τ' ὀμφαί*). Similarly the grammarians gave the name of *Ἀλκμανικὸν σχῆμα* to such a structure as *Odyssey* x. 513, *Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέουσιν | Κώκυτός τε*. (3.) *Zeugma*. *Ol.* i. 144, *ἕλεν δ' Οἰνομάου βίαν πάρθενόν τε σύνευνον*: 'he overcame mighty Oenomaus, and won the maiden for his bride.' *Pyth.* i. 40, *ἐθελήσαις ταῦτα νόῳ τιθέμεν εὔανδρόν τε χώραν*, 'deign to lay these prayers to thy heart, and to make the land happy in

her sons.' (4.) *Cases.* (i.) Genitive where dative would be usual: *Pyth.* iii. 5, *νόον ἔχοντ' ἀνδρῶν φίλον*, 'kindly to men.' *Ol.* vii. 90, *ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδὸν | εὐθυπορεῖ*, 'he walks in the straight way that abhors insolence.' (ii.) Dative where genitive would be usual: *Pyth.* v. 58, *ὄφρα μὴ ταμίᾳ Κυράνας ἀτελὴς γένοιτο μαντεύμασιν*, 'that he might not fail to fulfil his oracles to Cyrene's lord' (instead of *μαντευμάτων*). *Pyth.* iv. 296, *ἀσυχίᾳ θιγέμεν*, and elsewhere. (iii.) Accusative after *πονεῖν* as = 'to trouble:' *Pyth.* iv. 151, *οὐ πονεῖ με ταῦτα*. In v. 36, *οὐδ' ἀπίθησέ νιν*, W. Christ reads *Fιν* (= *οἱ*) with Hermann. (5.) *Prepositions. Ol.* v. 6, *ὑπὸ βουθυσίαις* (*ἐγέραρεν*), 'honoured *by*' (dative for genitive): conversely, *Ol.* xi. 30, *δοκεύσαις ὑπὸ* Κλεωνᾶν, '*under*' (genitive for dative); *Pyth.* iii. 60, *γνύντα τὸ πὰρ ποδός*, 'aware what lies before him,' not strictly equivalent to the common *παρὰ πόδα*, (*by* the foot), but rather denoting that which will be met at the next step forward. *Pyth.* v. 54, *περὶ δείματι φύγον*, 'for terror,' prae timore (so Aeschylus, *Cho.* 32, *περὶ τάρβει*). *Ol.* iii. 31 *πνοιαῖς ὄπιθεν*, 'behind the blasts:' *Ol.* vii. 18, *πέλας ἐμβόλῳ. Pyth.* ii. 11, *ἐν ἅρματα*, Aeolic for *εἰς*, and elsewhere. (6.) *κεν* with future infinitive: *Ol.* i. 109, *γλυκυτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι κλείξειν*. (7.) Optative *without* *ἄν* in abstract supposition: *Ol.* iii. 45, *οὔ μιν διώξω· κεινὸς εἴην. Pyth.* iv. 118, *οὐ ξείναν ἱκοίμαν γαῖαν. Ol.* x. 20, *ἐμφυὲς οὔτ' αἴθων ἀλώπηξ οὔτ' ἐρίβρομοι λέοντες διαλλάξαιντο ἦθος*. (8.) The *active* sense of the epithet may be noted in *καθαρὸς λέβης*, 'vessel of cleansing' (*Ol.* i. 26), *φρίσσοντες ὄμβροι*, 'chilling rains' (*Pyth.* iv. 81), *μαινὰς ὄρνις* (216), 'bird that maddens.'

The number of words peculiar to Pindar is large in proportion to the volume of his extant work. In several, as *ἀλεξίμβροτος*, *ἐναρίμβροτος*, *μελησίμβροτος*, *ὀπισθόμβροτος*, *πλειστόμβροτος*, *ἀλιτόξενος*, *ἀρχεδικᾶν*, *καταφυλλοροεῖν*, we can see how dactylic metre (especially in its Pindaric combinations) stimulated the formation of new compounds.

§ 22. The spirit of art, in every form, is represented for Pindar by *χάρις*—'the source of all delights to mortals' (*ἅπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μείλιχα θνατοῖς*, *Ol.* i. 30)—or by the personified Charites. While Sparta knew only two Graces (Κλήτα and Φαέννα),—as Athens, again, had but two (Αὐξώ and Ἡγεμόνη),—it was the Boeotian Orchomenus, near the Theban poet's home,

which possessed an ancient worship of three sisters, Εὐφροσύνη, Ἀγλαΐα, Θαλία (Paus. ix. 35). 'Illustrious queens of bright Orchomenus, who watch over the old Minyan folk, hear me, ye Graces, when I pray! For by your help come all things glad and sweet to mortals, whether wisdom is given to any man, or beauty, or renown. Yea, the gods ordain not dance or feast apart from the majesty of the Graces; the Graces control all things wrought in heaven; they have set their throne beside Pythian Apollo of the golden bow; they adore the everlasting godhead of the Olympian father' (*Ol.* xiv. 1). When Pindar compares the brightening fortunes of a victor's house to 'the fulness of spring with its bright blossoms' (*φοινικανθέμου ἦρος ἀκμᾷ*, *Pyth.* iv. 114), to the earth, 'after winter's gloom, blossoming with the red roses of the many-coloured months' *Isthm.* iii. 36), we remember that the Charites were often represented as young maidens decking themselves with early flowers; the *rose*, in particular, was sacred to the Charites as well as to Aphrodite.[1] In Pindar's mind, as in that old Greek conception from which the worship of the Charites sprang, the instinct of beautiful art was one with the sense of natural beauty. It is interesting to consider the relation of Pindar's poetry to other contemporary forms of Greek art, especially to that which, in his latter days, was drawing near to ripe perfection, the art of sculpture.

§ 23. The period of Pindar's activity (502 to 452 B.C.) coincides with the close of that period in Greek sculpture which immediately preceded the culmination of the art under Pheidias. To take Overbeck's broad division, we have:—(1) The early age, to 460 B.C.; its second period being from about 540 to 460: (2) The age of maturity, 460 to 300 B.C.; its second period being from about 396 to 300. From a slightly different point of view, we might close the archaic age at 500 B.C., and regard 500 to 460 B.C. as a distinct period, that in which the schools of Argos, Sicyon, and Aegina were effecting the transition from archaic types. And this is precisely the age to which most of Pindar's extant odes belong.

The central link between Pindar's poetry and Greek sculpture is Olymp[illegible] The earliest Greek plastic art was directly and

[1] See A. S. Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, p. 174.

exclusively the handmaid of religion: the god and the demigod were considered the only proper subjects for its exercise. But as the glory of the Olympian festival grew, as the worship of the Olympian Zeus became more and more a national bond among all Hellenes, an Olympian victor was raised to a rank so eminent that it seemed no longer irreverent to pay him an honour similar to that which was rendered to *ἡμίθεοι*: especially as this honour was in some sort rendered, not merely to the man, but also to the gods and demigods of Olympia. Hence, in the course of the sixth century B.C., sculpture was already finding a new field in the commemoration of athletes. And this work, while still prompted by the best inspirations of Greek religion, was so far *secular* as to relax those hieratic bonds in which the art of Egypt had remained bound. A pancratiast named Arrachion, victorious at Olympia in Ol. 50 (564 B.C.), was commemorated by a stone statue which Pausanias mentions (viii. 40, 1) as of archaic type (*σχῆμα*), and which seems to have been of the same general character as the Apollo of Tenea now at Munich.[1] Praxidamas, a boxer of Aegina (544 B.C.), and Rhexibius of Opus (536 B.C.), were commemorated by statues in wood. Earlier still (about 580 B.C.) the Argives had dedicated at Delphi portrait-statues (*εἰκόνες*, Her. i. 31) of Cleobis and Biton, on account of their eminent piety (*ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων*). About 520 B.C. Entelidas and Chrysothemis, sculptors of the Argive school, wrought statues of two Olympian victors, Demarchus and Theopompus.

§ 24. Pindar, in a striking passage, recognizes Sculpture and Poetry as sister arts employed in the commemoration of the athlete's fame, and contrasts the immobility of the statue with the wide diffusion of the poem (*Nem.* v. 1); *οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', | ὥστ' ἑλινύσοντά μ' ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος | ἑσταότ', ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας ὁλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ' ἀοιδά, | στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας.* 'No sculptor I, to fashion images that shall stand idly on one pedestal for aye: no, go thou forth from Aegina, sweet song of mine, on every freighted ship, on each light bark.' In Pindar's frequent insistence on the *supreme* value of song as the record of great deeds we can sometimes feel a tacit reference to the art with which here he openly contrasts his own.

[1] See Perry's *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 57.

Such princes as the Syracusan Hiero were patrons alike of poet and of sculptor. Without imagining any rivalry in a jealous or sordid sense, we can understand how a poet, conscious that his work possessed the secret of unfading youth, should have been impelled to claim for it a permanence so much less obvious to the many in his own day than that of the marbles which seemed to have made the victory immortal. The marble has too often perished; the song—the breath of an hour, as the hearers may have thought it—attests for us the truth of Pindar's claim, *ῥῆμα ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει*. Within his lifetime, the school of Argos was represented by Ageladas, the master of Myron, Polycleitus, and Pheidias. Among the works of Ageladas, Olympia possessed a chariot-group commemorating the victory of Cleisthenes of Epidamnus in 517 B.C., besides two statues of athletes. At Olympia were Myron's Discobolus, his statue of the runner Ladas, (who expired in the moment of victory), of the Lacedaemonian Chion, of a boy-boxer, of a pancratiast, and of a victor in the chariot-race. Myron, though of the Argive school, was a native of Eleutherae in Boeotia, and helps to illustrate Pindar's exulting refutation of the proverbial *Βοιωτίαν ὗν* (Ol. vi. 90). Canachus, of the school of Sicyon, wrought a group of boys riding race-horses, and thus belongs to the list of sculptors contemporary with Pindar who took subjects from the games.

§ 25. But the school of Aegina is that of which we naturally think first in connection with Pindar. Of his extant epinicia, Sicily claims 15; the Epizephyrian Locrians, 2; Cyrene, 3; the mainland of Greece, 13, of which 4 are for Thebes; Aegina, 11. In the island which was so fertile of athletes, the sculptors of Pindar's day had begun to take as their model an ideal athlete, of a type characterised by spareness of form, showing the bones at knee-joints, in chest and ribs, with the legs rather too long and the arms too short; whence the 'Aeginetan' manner means for Pausanias 'archaic' as distinguished from 'Attic' or mature art.[1] The temple of Athene at Aegina had groups of sculpture on both pediments,—the east (which was the front), and the west. The Aeginetan marbles at Munich are statues which formed parts of these groups. Their date falls within Pindar's lifetime.

[1] See A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 147, 160.

The subject of the east pediment (it is unnecessary to enter on controverted details of restoration) was that war against Laomedon in which Heracles was helped by Telamon. The subject of the west pediment was one probably connected with the death of Patroclus, and the chief figure was Ajax, son of Telamon. All through Pindar's odes for Aeginetan victors the dominant mythical theme is fitly the glory of the Aeacidae, Telamon, Ajax, Peleus, Achilles. In the fifth Isthmian ode, Pindar gives a most brilliant treatment to the initial episode of the very theme which occupied the east pediment of the temple at Aegina,—Heracles coming to seek the aid of Telamon against Troy, when Telamon gave his guest 'a wine-cup rough with gold,' and Heracles prophesied the birth and the prowess of Ajax. Here then, is a case in which we can conceive that the poet's immediate theme may have occurred to his mind as he gazed on the sculptor's work in the splendid entablature of the temple; and we recall Pindar's own comparison of an opening song to the front of a stately building—*ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου χρὴ πρόσωπον θέμεν τηλαυγές*.

The contrast in style between the work on the western and eastern pediments at Aegina would correspond with the difference between the older, stiffer school of Callon and that fresher impulse which in Pindar's day was represented at Aegina by Onatas. If Onatas had indeed a chief hand in the eastern pediment, then the praise of the Aeacidae associated Onatas and Pindar at Aegina as the praise of Hiero's victory in the chariot-race—which Onatas commemorated by a group—associated them at Olympia. Bronze race-horses, one of which, with a boy-rider stood on each side of the chariot wrought by Onatas, were the work of Calamis, who represents Athenian art just before it reached its greatest perfection under Pheidias. It was Calamis whom Pindar chose to execute a statue which he dedicated at Thebes. The subject was Zeus Ammon, whom Pindar may have specially venerated on account of the connection of his own ancestry, the Aegeidae, with Cyrene, which he describes as founded *Διὸς ἐν Ἄμμωνος θεμέθλοις*, 'on the ground where Zeus Ammon hath his seat,'—*i.e.* near the oasis and temple (*Pyth.* iv. 16). A lost hymn by Pindar began, *Ἄμμων Ὀλύμπου δέσποτα* (*frag.* 11). The statue and shrine of Cybele, also dedicated by Pindar at Thebes,

are ascribed to the Theban artists, Aristomedes and Socrates. These, with another of the same period, Ascarus, are the names by which Thebes first takes a place in the history of Greek art;[1] and it is an interesting fact that her earliest known sculptors should have been the contemporary of her greatest poet.

§ 26. The mythical material of sculpture in or just before Pindar's age is not, as a rule, taken directly from our Homer, but more largely from episodes treated in other and (as I believe) chiefly later poems. Many of these subjects come within the range of Pindar's treatment or allusion. I may give a few instances, by way of showing how Pindar and the sculptors were working in the same field. The Gigantomachia (Pindar, *Nem.* i. 67) adorned the pediment of the Megarian 'Treasury' at Olympia; next to Zeus, Poseidon, and Ares, the chief figure was Heracles, whom Pindar also makes prominent. The wedding of Heracles with Hebe (Pind. *ib.* and *Isthm.* iii. 78) was the subject of a relief (of Pindar's age) on the low wall round the mouth of a well (*περιστόμιον*) found at Corinth. Pindar may have lived to see the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, by Paeonius, though not the western, by Alcamenes; the subject of the eastern was the chariot-race of Pelops and Oenomaus (Pind. *Ol.* i. 76); of the western, the war of the Centaurs with the Lapithae (Λαπιθᾶν ὑπερόπλων, *Pyth.* ix. 14). Pindar's mention of the '*fair-throned* Hours' (εὔθρονοι Ὧραι, *Pyth.* ix. 62) reminds us that the Heraion at Olympia possessed a chryselephantine group of the Horae seated on thrones, by Smilis of Aegina, whose date has been referred to the earlier half of the sixth century. Hiero of Syracuse, who was engaged in war while suffering from gout and stone, is compared by Pindar with Philoctetes, ἀσθενεῖ μὲν χρωτὶ βαίνων, ἀλλὰ μοιριδιον ἦμαρ (*Pyth.* i. 55). At that very time Syracuse contained the famous statue of the limping Philoctetes, by Pythagoras of Rhegium, of which Pliny says that those who looked at it seemed to feel the pain (xxxiv. 59). Even if we hesitate to believe that the sculptor intended an allusion to Hiero,[2] we may well suppose that Pindar's comparison was suggested by the work of Pythagoras. Pindar touches on a legend which represented Heracles in

[1] Cp. Perry's *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 92.

[2] See Watkiss Lloyd, *History of Sicily*, p. 315; and A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, p. 203.

combat with Apollo and two other gods (*Ol.* ix. 30 f). A similar contest between Heracles and Apollo was the subject of a group executed in Pindar's time (about 485 B.C.) by three artists of Corinth—Diyllus, Amyclaeus, and Chionis—and offered by the Phocians in the temple at Delphi (Paus. x. 13, 7). The religious reserve with which Pindar alludes to the strife between Heracles and the god (*Ol.* ix. 35, *ἀπό μοι λόγον | τοῦτον, στόμα, ῥῖψον*) has led critics to infer that the story was one of the *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* pertaining to mysteries.[1] His reticence probably reflects the tone of the Delphic priesthood in regard to the closely kindred subject which he must have seen in their temple.

§ 27. A favourite image for the paths of song is drawn by Pindar from broad, stately causeways like that *σκυρωτὴ ὁδός* (*Pyth.* v. 87) which his own feet had perhaps trodden in the African Cyrene. See *Nem.* vi. 47 (*πλατεῖαι πρόσοδοι*): *Isthm.* iii. 19 (*μυρία παντᾶ κέλευθος*): v. 22, *μυρίαι δ' ἔργων καλῶν τέτμηνθ' ἑκατόμπεδοι ἐν σχερῷ κέλευθοι*, 'countless roads of a hundred feet [in width] are cleft for onward course of noble deeds.' Such touches are suggestive of the improvement in the laying out of Greek towns which took place in Pindar's later years, when Hippodamus, for instance, the architect of the Peiraeus, is said to have introduced broad, straight streets, intersecting each other at right angles (Arist. *Pol.* ii. 5). Besides works in stone, Pindar alludes to artistic works (*ἔργα*) in several other materials. We hear of silver cups (*ἀργυρίδες*, *Ol.* ix. 90), goblets of gold (*φιάλαν πάγχρυσον*, *Ol.* vii. 1), tripods and caldrons (*λέβητες*, *Isthm.* i. 19): in one case, *χαλκὸς μυρίος*, 'prizes in bronze past counting' (*Nem.* x. 45). A song is likened to cunning work which blends gold, ivory, and coral (*Nem.* vii. 78). Pindar's epithets sometimes suggest that he was thinking of colours which he had seen in works of art (sculpture or painting). Thus *Ol.* vi. 94, *φοινικόπεζαν Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρός*, Demeter with red sandals, Persephone with white horses; *Pyth.* iv. 182, Zetes and Calais, *ἄνδρας πτεροῖσιν νῶτα πεφρίκοντας ἄμφω πορφυρέοις*, 'with purple wings erect upon their backs': *Ol.* vi. 14, *φαιδίμας ἵππους*, perhaps alluding to the *white* horses of Amphiaraus (Philostr. *Imagines* i. 27): the saffron swaddling bands of Heracles, the saffron robe of Jason (*Nem.* i. 38, *Pyth.* iv. 232). The poet's own feeling for colour

[1] Cp. Paley on *Iliad* v. 396.

appears in the beautiful story of the birth of Iamus; Evadne lays aside her silver pitcher and her girdle of scarlet web; the babe is found *ἴων ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀκτῖσι βεβρεγμένος ἁβρὸν | σῶμα*, 'its delicate body steeped in the golden and deep purple rays of pansies' (*Ol.* vi. 55).

§ 28. In concluding this sketch of Pindar's relation to the art of his own day, we may notice one or two glimpses which he gives us of archaic Greek art. In *Ol.* vii. 50 f. he mentions the Heliadae, a clan or hereditary guild of artists in Rhodes, united by the cult of Helios (the sun-god) as their ancestor. To them Athene gave skill above that of other men: 'and the ways of Rhodes bare works like to beasts and creeping things; and theirs was wealth of fame. *Yea, for him who hath knowledge science also is greater when 'tis guileless*' (*δαέντι δὲ καὶ σοφία μείζων ἄδολος τελέθει*). The latter words allude to the mythical Telchines (Τελχῖνες), the earliest artistic workers in metal, whom legend represented as magicians (*γόητες*), wizards who cast an evil eye on all who dared to compete with them (*βάσκανοι, φθονεροὶ δαίμονες*): Strabo xiv. 653: Tzeztes, *Chil.* vii. 123 f. The same charge of sorcery was laid against the Dactyli (*Δάκτυλοι*) of Ida in the Troad (or, as some have it, in Crete), who figure as the earliest blacksmiths: *γόητες, φαρμακεῖς*, schol. Apol. Rhod. *Arg.* i. 1129.[1] It was the wonder of a dark age for 'uncanny' skill, expressing itself as it did towards the 'adepts' of the middle age—when Michael Scott, for instance, a respectable young diplomatist who had dabbled in chemistry, passed for a wizard in the Border country, when he retired to study Aristotle in the gaunt house which may still be seen by the Yarrow. Pindar means: 'The Heliadae, who wrought metal into images of living things without the aid of sorcery, were greater artists than the Telchines or Dactyli. Success in art *also* (like success in other things) is a greater achievement when it is honest. So, at least, it must seem to a man of understanding (*δαέντι*).' These earliest efforts of metal-working were especially associated with the mineral resources of Phrygia, Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes. Another passage of Pindar recalls the age of rude wood-carving. The ornamented harness dedicated in the temple of Delphi by the victorious charioteer of Arcesilas was placed in a shrine of

[1] For other passages on the Telchines and the Dactyli, see Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* § 27 f.

cypress (*κυπαρίσσινον μέγαρον*), hard by the statue which the bow-bearing Cretans set in the Parnassian house [the temple], the statue *in one piece of native growth*': *ἀμφ' ἀνδριάντι σχεδόν, | Κρῆτες ὀν τοξοφόροι τέγεϊ Παρνασίῳ κάθεσσαν, τὸν μονόξροπον, φυτόν* (*Pyth.* v. 37). The image was doubtless a piece of wood that had grown in some shape which was fancied to resemble the human form; though *φυτόν* does not seem to exclude the supposition that this likeness had been developed by rough carving. The name *ἀνδριάς* would at least not have been given to a shapeless log, such as once symbolised Athene at Lindus and Artemis at Icarus. Daedalus was especially associated with wood-carving, as at Athens, where a guild of wood-carvers bore his name, and two *Cretan* 'Daedalidae'—Dipoenus and Scyllis, about 560 B.C.—are said to have made a wooden image (*ξόανον*) of the Munychian Artemis for Sicyon (Clem. *Protrept.* iv. 42).

§ 29. To these notices of early work in metal and in wood, I would add Pindar's mention of arts for which Corinth had early been famous. *Olymp.* xiii. 16, *πολλὰ δ' ἐν καρδίαις ἀνδρῶν ἔβαλον | Ὧραι πολυάνθεμοι ἀρχαῖα σοφίσμαθ'· ἅπαν δ' εὑρόντος ἔργον.* 'Many devices, from olden time, have the flower-crowned Hours put in the hearts of (Corinthian) men; and every work is his who wrought it first.' What are these *ἀρχαῖα σοφίσματα*? As examples, Pindar mentions (1) the development of the dithyramb, (2) certain improvements in the appliances for harnessing and driving horses, (3) the addition of the pediment (*οἰωνῶν βασιλέα δίδυμον, i.e. ἀετόν*) to temples. But these are merely a few instances pertinent to his theme, and it is plain that, in his thought, *πολλὰ σοφίσματα* included more than these. Nor have we far to seek. Corinth had been one of the oldest seats of sculpture in bronze: cp. Horace *Sat.* II. iii. 21, where the collector seeks for a bronze *ποδανιπτήρ* which Sisyphus might have used. But Corinth was more peculiarly associated with the earliest modelling in clay, in which the Corinthian Butades was the first traditional name. The story was that three artists, Eucheir, Diopos and Eugrammos, exiled from Corinth about 665 B.C., introduced the art into Etruria. With regard to the rival claim of the Samians, Theodorus and Rhoecus, to have been the first modellers in clay, Mr. A. S. Murray has well remarked that they, as workers in

bronze, may have used clay for preliminary models, while the Corinthian Butades may have been the first to produce clay figures which, when coloured, were substantive works of art.

§ 30. The spirit of drama often breathes in Pindar. Thus the interview between Jason and Pelias (*Pyth.* iv.) is the sketch of a splendid scene. The meeting of Apollo and Cheiron (*Pyth.* ix.), the episode of Castor and Polydeuces (*Nem.* x.), the entertainment of Heracles by Telamon (*Isthm.* v.), and many other passages, are instinct with truly dramatic touches. These are from a man who was accustomed to see beautiful forms in vivid action or in vivid art. He sought to body forth the persons of legend with equal vividness. Continuous narratives of the heroic past had ceased to satisfy the imagination; but faith was still living. The effort of Pindar's age—stirred as it had been to the core by that great trilogy of national life, the Persian invasions—was to grasp a well-defined episode: to see the heroes moving; to hear them speaking; to throw back upon their world such a light of contemporary reflection as should make them seem nearer and more real. The history of Greek literature is not a series of chapters, but the course of a natural growth, the voice of Greek life from age to age. Pindar's place in that development is of singular interest. He stands between epos and drama. The phase of Greek mind which shaped the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is passing into that which shaped Attic Tragedy. Pindar is the lyric interpreter of the impulse which received mature expression from Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Olympia, with its athletes, its statues, and its temples corresponded to the essence of Greek drama—action idealised by art and consecrated by religion. When Sophocles, by an effective anachronism, describes the chariot-race of Orestes at the Pythian games, we feel how naturally and easily a Greek imagination could revive the heroes amid the surroundings of such a festival. It is not only by his subjects, but still more by his manner of treatment, that Pindar exhibits the influence of the *πανηγύρεις*: and, like Olympia itself, the temper of his work illustrates the spiritual unity of the best Greek art in every form.

R. C. Jebb.

I. THE RUINS AT HISSARLIK.

II. THEIR RELATION TO THE *ILIAD*.

UNANIMOUS recognition has justly been accorded to the rare energy and devotion by which Dr. Schliemann has achieved his enterprise of excavating the mound of Hissarlik, once the acropolis of the historic Greek Ilium. Whatever views may be held as to the origin of the older remains, or their significance in relation to the epic of Troy, there is only one opinion as to the interesting and valuable nature of the service which the sustained enthusiasm of the explorer has rendered to the study of antiquity.

The problem of Hissarlik involves two separate issues. It is the omission to distinguish these which, more than anything else, has impeded a clear view. The first issue is:—What are the ruins that have been found at Hissarlik? The second is:—What have these ruins to do with the Troy of the *Iliad*?

The principle of this paper will be to keep these two issues distinct.

I. THE RUINS AT HISSARLIK.

Dr. Schliemann maintains in *Ilios* that all traces of the historic Greek Ilium cease at about six feet beneath the surface. Below that depth everything is prehistoric. And at successive

depths of the prehistoric deposit it is possible to distinguish six prehistoric cities.

I, on the contrary, hold that the remains of the historic Greek Ilium reach to a far greater depth than six feet. A large part of those remains which have been regarded as *prehistoric* must really belong to this historic town, in one or another of the successive architectural phases through which it passed between such limits as *circ.* 700 B.C. and the earlier days of the Roman Empire. Beneath the oldest remains of the Greek Ilium there must, however, be something older still. Thus we have, according to me, (1) The Greek Ilium of Roman, Macedonian, and pre-Macedonian times: (2) Below this, at least one prehistoric settlement; but, on the showing of the ruins, almost certainly not more than two.

Put briefly, then, the difference of view is this. *Ilios* supposes a shallow historic layer, over a very deep prehistoric deposit. I suppose a deep historic deposit, with a prehistoric residuum.

At the outset it is well to remark that some loss of clearness has resulted from the associations of the word *stratum*. In *Ilios*, each 'stratum' represents a distinct 'city.' Hence 'stratum' has come to be used in reference to Hissarlik as if it connoted 'city.' A person who denies the existence of six distinct prehistoric cities has been regarded as if he denied the existence of different strata. Now, so far as I am aware, no one has thought of denying that remains of buildings, belonging to several successive periods, are found at successive depths. But I would refer several of these successive 'strata' to *one* city, viz., the historic Greek Ilium, and only one 'stratum,' or two at the most, to earlier settlers. In reference to Hissarlik, the term 'stratification' requires to be understood in a modified sense. It is apt to suggest a regular series of evenly horizontal layers, by which the remains of the successive 'cities' are clearly marked off from each other. A study of *Ilios* is in itself enough to show that the phenomenon at Hissarlik is not of this simple character: much more is this apparent to those who see the ruins. Standing out distinctly above all the rest are the remains of the Roman age. The Roman buildings were erected on a plane formed over the entire surface of the hill by levelling the ruined houses beneath. So, also, were the buildings of the large city in the fifth stratum below the surface. But these are the only two

such cases.[1] In the second, third, and fourth periods the stratification is much more partial and irregular. This is only natural when allowance is made for the various plan, elevation and extent of the buildings which, in the intervening centuries, arose on this mound.[2]

The following is the scheme of strata as given in Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios* (1880) :—

	Depth below surface.	Successive strata of remains on the hill of Hissarlik.
1	6 feet.	Stratum of the seventh city, the Aeolic Ilium. [According to *Ilios*, *all traces* of the Greek Ilium cease at six feet.]
2	6½ feet.	Sixth, or Lydian, city. [This city does not appear in Dr. Schliemann's *Troy* (1874), but was first introduced in *Ilios*.]
3	13 feet.	Fifth prehistoric city.
4	23 feet.	Fourth prehistoric city.
5	33 feet.	Third prehistoric city. [The Homeric Troy of *Ilios* : a brick city, destroyed, but not totally, by fire.]
6	45 feet.	Second prehistoric city.
7	52½ feet.	First prehistoric city, on the native rock, about 59½ feet above present level of plain.

[1] These two 'Ansiedelungen' 'die beiden einzigen sind, bei deren Anlage eine durch den ganzen Hügel hindurchreichende horizontale Baufläche durch Planiren der unteren Trümmerhausen hergestellte wurde' : Dr. W. Dörpfeld, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Sept. 29, 1882.

[2] Mr. Newton (*Halicarnassus*, p. 121) notices a series of zigzag strata on the eastern side of the platform within the peribolus of the mausoleum at Halicarnassus. This series might have been formed 'by shooting into the deeper parts the rubble as it accumulated in levelling the site and dressing the stones ;' and its effect is to form an artificial prolongation of the platform. Similar disturbing causes may well have been at work on such a site as Hissarlik, where buildings of all sorts, large and small, were constructed and destroyed on so many occasions in the course of long ages.

During several months of the present year (1882), the ruins at Hissarlik were studied for Dr. Schliemann by two eminent architects, Dr. W. Dörpfeld and Dr. J. Höfler. Dr. Dörpfeld was for several years at the head of the technical works in the German excavations at Olympia. The result is that the scheme of *Ilios* has to be changed. The 'third city' of *Ilios* confounded, as now appears, the buildings of two different towns; and the 'second city' was really only part of the lower of these towns. The 'Lydian city' disappears from the roll of the prehistoric cities. The following periods or groups of remains are now distinguished:—

1. At the top, the remains of the Greek Ilium of the *Roman* age; subsequent, that is, to the destruction by Fimbria in 85 B.C.

2. A city which, like the former, extended beyond the mound of Hissarlik (its acropolis) over the adjacent plateau.

3. A smaller city, probably confined to the mound.

4. A petty town, or village, confined to the mound, and somewhat carelessly built. The 'Royal Mansion of Troy,' which *Ilios* (p. 325) identifies with Priam's palace, was a house in this village.

5. A large city,—to which the mound was only acropolis, having about five buildings upon it, two of which were perhaps temples. The lower town extended to a considerable distance beyond Hissarlik, over the plateau to S. and E.

6. A few remains of a small and unimportant settlement which preceded No. 5; if indeed these remains belonged to a distinct town. The reasons for distinguishing 6 from 5 are that some of the acropolis buildings of 5 are above those of 6, and seem to have been erected on carefully-levelled ground.

It will be noted that Dr. Dörpfeld has not as yet published any opinion on the question which this statement at once suggests. It is a question which goes to the root of the matter. *Ilios* maintained that every trace of the Greek Ilium, from its earliest to its latest age, disappears at about six feet below the surface. At six and a half feet we were already in the Lydian city, and on the brink of the fifth prehistoric city. But now Dr. Dörpfeld confirms the view that the topmost remains are those of the Greek Ilium in its *latest* or *Roman* phase only. Are

we to suppose, then, that he regards the strata next below this as the Greek Ilium of an earlier age, or as the latest of a *prehistoric* series?

Last autumn I visited Hissarlik for the purpose of seeing the excavations. I was already familiar with all the details given in *Ilios*; and I had the advantage of seeing the ruins under the courteous guidance of Mr. Frank Calvert, who from the first has been intimately conversant with the progress of the works. The six prehistoric cities of *Ilios* I could not see. Thus much, however, was plain enough:—(1) At the top, those walls of circuit of the acropolis which Dr. Schliemann had referred to the Macedonian age, supposing them to have been built by Lysimachus. It may be noted in passing that there is no historical evidence for this. The wall built by Lysimachus was one which inclosed the lower town, and had a circumference of about five miles. Everything pointed to the inference that these remains were not Macedonian, but *Roman*. (2) Below the Roman remains, I saw ruins of house-walls, foundations, &c., which evidently represented the Greek Ilium of an earlier age. It was equally clear that these ruins did not belong to *one* period only of the pre-Roman Ilium: I believed that I had before me the traces of its Macedonian age, and of at least one previous chapter in its architectural history. (3) Lastly, there were some remains obviously older than the earliest date which could be assigned to the Greek Ilium—even if, with Dr. Schliemann, we were to suppose that in the ninth century B.C. it had been 'already long established' (*Ilios*, p. 517).

This was all that I could discern. But now Dr. Dörpfeld has given us the most accurate discrimination of the remains at which he could arrive after months of minute examination. There is no man living whose opinion on the architectural bearing of the question would carry greater weight. If Dr. Dörpfeld had pronounced that all traces of the Greek Ilium do indeed cease at six feet down, I should have concluded that I had been wrong. The greater is my satisfaction to find that his view, so far as it is yet known, is entirely consistent with mine. Not one word has he yet said which suggests that he takes the buildings of his second, third, and fourth periods to be *prehistoric*. And I remark that his description of them agrees perfectly with what we know of the Greek Ilium in its

pre-Roman phases. This, then, would be my interpretation of the periods which he distinguishes:—

1. The Greek Ilium of the Roman age.

2. The next town—extending over the plateau, and using the mound merely as acropolis—is the Greek Ilium of the Macedonian age, which was embellished by Lysimachus about 300 B.C., and sacked by Fimbria in 85 B.C.

3. The smaller city preceding this, which probably had no lower town, is the Greek Ilium as it existed before the Macedonian age. This, as appears from the known incidents of its history in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.,[1] was a small place, owing its chief importance to the local shrine of Athene Ilias. Charidemus took it about 359 B.C. (Dem. *In Aristocr.* § 154), after a siege, as appears from Plutarch (*Sert.* § 1).

4. The earlier settlement, of a distinctly smaller and ruder kind, raises, first of all, this question—Is there anything to show whether it was or was not Hellenic? If architecture has nothing to say against its being Hellenic, then I should be disposed to think that it represented the Greek Ilium in its earliest form,—that is, the first settlement of Aeolic colonists on the hill of Hissarlik. Strabo knew a tradition that the Aeolic colony, after changing its seat in the Troad more than once, took up its final abode on Hissarlik *κατὰ Κροῖσον μάλιστα*, *i.e. circ.* 560 B.C.; but other indications point to the Aeolic occupation of the site having taken place earlier, perhaps about 700 B.C.

5. The large city, which extended over the plateau and had only a few buildings on the mound, would, in this view, be non-Hellenic and prehistoric. We are, as it seems to me, quite at liberty to suppose that this was the city, the siege and capture of which *gave rise* to the legend of Troy; though, as I shall endeavour to show in the second part of this paper, it cannot have been the actual aggregate of buildings which the poet of the *Iliad* describes.

6. If the few small buildings beneath those of 5 did not belong to it, they represent, of course, a smaller and earlier settlement.

Such is my reading of the architectural epochs which Dr.

[1] See 'Homeric and Hellenic Ilium,' *Journal*, Vol. II. pp. 22 *ff.*

Dörpfeld recognises at Hissarlik. If it is correct, or approximately so, then we have at Hissarlik only *one* certain or important *prehistoric* settlement, and, over this, the *historic Greek Ilium* in three (or possibly four) successive phases.[1]

At this point we may ask :—Can any evidence for or against the above interpretation be derived from the pottery found in the excavations? Here there is at hand the testimony of one who can speak with special authority on that subject. In his recent *Céramiques de la Grèce Propre*, M. Albert Dumont devotes the first chapter to Hissarlik, before reviewing the types of Santorin (Thera), Ialysos, Mycenae, and Spata (in Attica). Now, according to the hypothesis of six prehistoric cities, the differences of the pottery at successive depths were such as in some cases to indicate not only different epochs but different races and civilisations. Referring to this theory, M. Dumont speaks decidedly: 'We have not adequate data for establishing differences of a scientific character between these several strata' (of pottery). He dwells rather on the general unity of ceramic type which occurs, and which is such as points to a very early Hellenic age. Some objects, however, are of a manifestly later date. In such a case, I should ask—At what depth was the object found?' M. Dumont notices a piece of earthenware found at about 26 feet 3 inches below the surface. From the character he infers that it is not older than the second century B.C.; *i.e.* contemporary with the Macedonian Ilium. But at a depth of 26 feet we should be, according to *Ilios*, in our third prehistoric city, above which three prehistoric

[1] A friend writes to me :—'The Roman analogies in favour of your view are striking. I was recently watching the excavations in the Via Nazionale, and was struck with the enormous mass of stratified deposit of comparatively modern date, *i.e.* since the Christian era.' I gave the outline of my view in the *Athenaeum* and the *Academy* of Dec. 2, 1882. In the *Academy* of Dec. 9, 1882, Prof. W. W. Goodwin writes, with reference to Dr. Dörpfeld's discrimination of the strata: 'It tends strongly to what I have always believed would be the ultimate conclusion about Hissarlik—that the only two important settlements there have been, first, a large prehistoric city which made Hissarlik its acropolis, and extended far out on the plateau behind it; and, secondly, the historic Ilium in its three phases of a primitive Aeolic settlement on the acropolis, the Macedonian city, and the more elegant Roman Ilium.' On the other hand, Prof. A. H. Sayce declares that 'any one, however inexperienced in questions of archaeology,' must see that all traces of the Aeolic Ilium cease at six feet below the surface of Hissarlik (*Academy*, Nov. 5, 1881).

cities intervene before the earliest traces of the Greek Ilium. If, on the other hand, we recognise the Macedonian Ilium in the second town from the top, it is quite intelligible how such earthenware might have come there. The same remark applies to another object found at about the same depth, to which Dr. Brentano has justly drawn attention in *Troia und Neu Ilion*.[1] It is a small earthenware globe, divided by lines traced on it into fifteen bands or zones, manifestly intended, as Dr. Schliemann observes, to represent the zones of the earth. A mathematical proof of the spherical form of the earth was first given by Eudoxus of Cnidus (*circ.* 370-360 B.C.), and from his time dates the division of the earth into zones. About 150 B.C., Crates of Mallus prepared at Pergamus a large globe representing the earth, of which the globe found at Hissarlik might be a type in miniature. Here again, then, in the 'stratum' of 'Troy,' is an object referable to *circ.* 350-100 B.C. The evidence of such objects perfectly agrees with that which we derive from other and independent sources. It points to the conclusion that the remains of the Greek Ilium, instead of ceasing at six feet below the surface, extend to a much greater depth. And at the same time the generally high Hellenic antiquity which M. Dumont recognises in the pottery of Hissarlik would suggest the inference that the oldest Hellenic habitation has left its traces on the site. This consideration would make in favour of supposing that the small settlement (No. 4) which succeeded to the large prehistoric city was Hellenic rather than non-Hellenic.

II. The Relation of Hissarlik to the *Iliad*.

From the first issue—'What has been found at Hissarlik?'—we now come to the second—'How is the discovery related to the *Iliad*?'

The *Iliad* is an epic poem, not an historical work; and the first point to be considered is this—Did the tale of Troy arise from the siege and capture of some real town? It probably did. So much would be conceded by all, perhaps, except those who

[1] P. 73.

explain the siege of Troy as a solar myth, and regard it as merely 'a repetition of the daily siege of the East by the solar powers that every evening are robbed of their treasures in the West.' The affirmation that the story of Troy had its ultimate origin in fact is compatible with suspense of judgment as to the precise amount of historical truth which can be recovered from the *Iliad*. The analysis of that is a very nice operation, admitting a great variety of view; but it is one on which we have not to enter here.

Remains have been found at Hissarlik which are presumably old enough to be those of a town besieged and destroyed before the *Iliad* was composed. No similar remains, to which an equal antiquity could be ascribed, have been found elsewhere in the Trojan plain. Hissarlik is entitled to the benefit of this. We will say, then: Hissarlik may have been the site of that town, the capture of which, at an unknown date, gave rise to the story of Troy.

A further question now presents itself. The historical prototype of the poetical Troy actually stood, we will suppose, at Hissarlik. But where did Homer *conceive* his Troy as standing? Here we can judge only from the topographical data given in the *Iliad* itself. These data are of two classes,—general and particular.

(1) The general data are such as these,—that Troy stood in the plain; that its acropolis was 'lofty,' with crags sufficiently steep to warrant the epithet ὀφρυόεσσα, 'beetling'; that two rivers met in front of it; that near it were two springs which could be regarded as the sources of one of the rivers; and that between the town and the Hellespont there was room for the movement of armies.

(2) The particular data depend, for instance, on calculations of the distance between Troy and the Greek camp, as required by particular incidents of the poem; on the exact position relatively to the town which the poem seems to suppose for certain tumuli; on the circumstance that Achilles could chase Hector all round the walls, &c.

Now, with regard to the data of this second class, it is my belief that to argue from them is lost labour. In the first place many of them are essentially ambiguous. Next, even if such ambiguity did not exist, it would be necessary to remember that

an epic poem is not an Ordnance Survey. A poet, though minutely familiar with the localities, might make slips, or might permit himself some licence,—especially when he had the excuse that his warriors were not 'such as mortals now are.' And the probability of such oversights or such licence is indefinitely increased if we suppose the poem, or parts of it, to have been composed *without* a minute knowledge, or an exact recollection, of the ground.

The *general* data seem, then, to be those which alone can be safely applied here. And it should be noted at the outset that *no one place in the Troad satisfies all the general data for the site of Troy.* This remark was made to me by Mr. Calvert—than whom no one knows the Trojan plain more thoroughly—at the beginning of our tour, and I can now confirm it from personal observation.

A few words will suffice to orientate the reader with regard to the broad features of topography. The Trojan plain is about seven miles long from north to south, with a breadth of about two or three miles from east to west. It is bounded on the west by low hills skirting the Aegean, on the north by the Hellespont, on the east and south by low hills. Hissarlik (the 'place of fortresses') is a mound at the end of a long low ridge which runs out north-westward into the plain from the hills bounding it on the east. 'Ridge' is perhaps rather too strong a word for this tongue of slightly elevated ground which seldom attains a height of more than some eighty feet above the ordinary level of the plain. Approaching Hissarlik, as we did, from a point in the plain four miles to the S.E. of it, one comes on to the side of the plateau by a scarcely perceptible slope, and is already at the place claimed as 'lofty Ilios' without having been conscious of any decided ascent. The area of the mound of Hissarlik is given by Dr. Schliemann as about 325 yards by 235; and the relative smallness of this area is a fact which should be constantly borne in mind by those who wish to form a correct mental picture. The height of the mound above the plain is about 112 feet; and the greatest depth to which Dr. Schliemann has dug is about 52½ feet below the surface, or 59½ feet above the plain; but this depth has been reached, of course, only in a part of the excavated area. Hissarlik is about four miles S.E. by E. of ancient Sigeum at the N.W.

angle of the Troad, and about three miles from the coast of the Hellespont. This latter distance must have been slightly *greater* (and not, as had long been assumed, *less*) in antiquity; for Mr. Calvert seems to have established beyond a doubt that the sea has been gaining on the land, not *vice versâ*, along this coast. The first thing which is obvious to a visitor is that a town of which Hissarlik represented the whole extent, and not merely the acropolis, would have been very inconsiderable. The other feature most obvious in a first view is that it would be strange indeed to call Hissarlik '*lofty*.'

Besides Hissarlik, two other sites in the plain have been claimed as Troy. One of these is about four miles S.E. of Hissarlik, near the farm formerly called Akshí-kioi ('cook's village'), and now 'Thymbra,' on ground which gently rises from the plain to the hills which bound it to the S.E., not far from the junction of the river Kimar with the Mendere. Here in historic times probably stood 'the village of the Ilians, Ἰλιέων κώμη, which a local tradition claimed as the site of Troy. At the Greek Ilium local tradition made the same claim. Neither one local tradition nor the other had any intrinsic value. It is proper to note, however, that the local tradition of the Ἰλιέων κώμη had one recommendation which did not belong to that of the Greek Ilium. It had the support of analogy. In Phocis, the name of the extinct Ledon was preserved by a small *village* near the ancient site (Paus. x. 33 § 2). One of the arguments for this site depends on the supposition that Homer conceived the Greek camp as *not visible* from Troy; a position which *Iliad* 12, 742 *ff.* (where Polites is sent from Troy as a spy) fails to establish. Speaking generally of this site near Thymbra with reference to the data of the *Iliad*, I would briefly say that, to my mind, it is open to most of the objections which can be urged against Hissarlik, and also to several others peculiar to itself.

Then there is the site at Bunárbashi, a village on the lower slopes of the hills which inclose the plain to the south. Just behind this village is a hill which rises some 400 feet above the plain,—the Bali Dagh, or 'honey-mount,' as it is called from the wild bees which hive in caves on the south side. This hill has been identified by many of the best judges with the Pergamos of Homeric Troy,—the lower town being

supposed to have extended down the lower slopes, so that the Scaean Gate would have been somewhere near Bunárbashi. These are the main points in favour of the Bali Dagh. (1) It is 'lofty,' and has crags which precisely suit the epithet *ὀφρυόεσσα*: on the S.W. side the cliff goes down almost sheer into the valley of the Mendere, and everywhere it is steep. (2) The area of the hill is spacious enough for the buildings of the Homeric Pergamos, and the lower slopes would have admitted a really large town. (3) At the foot of the site, near Bunárbashi, fountains rise in just the position of the springs described by Homer. (4) In front of it flow two rivers,—the Mendere (Scamander), and the Bunárbashi river (Simois). Their courses are nearly parallel for a short distance; then they meet, and the united stream flows to the Hellespont. (5) Behind the Bali Dagh to the S. is a small plain, formed by a widening in the valley of the Mendere, after it has passed, from Ida, through the plain of Bairamitch, into the hills of the northern Troad. Now this small plain perfectly answers to the 'Ileian plain' (*πεδίον Ἰλήϊον*) of *Iliad* 21, 556 *ff.*, where Agenor thinks of turning 'away from the city wall' (*ἀπὸ τείχεος*), and escaping, through that plain, to 'the valleys of Ida.'

'Troy *ought* to have been here,' is one's feeling when, coming from Hissarlik, one mounts this hill above Bunárbashi. Mr. Tozer[1] has well observed:—'No one who stands on the summit of the Bali Dagh can fail to be impressed with the magnificence of its position and its suitableness for the site of a great ancient city. You feel at once that it commands the plain. Indeed, a person accustomed to observe the situation of Hellenic cities would at once fix on this as far more likely to have recommended itself to the old inhabitants of the country than any other in the neighbourhood.' So, too, Colonel Leake—speaking also from personal inspection—remarks that the site at Bunárbashi unites all the requisites which ancient settlers would have sought, and sums up thus:—'That it was precisely such a situation as the inhabitants of Greece and Asia in remote ages preferred, might be shown by a great variety of examples; and it can hardly be doubted that a person totally unacquainted with the Iliad, but accustomed to observe the positions of ancient Greek towns,

[1] *Highlands of Turkey*, i. 39.

would fix on Bunárbashi for the site of the chief place of the surrounding country.'[1] Ernst Curtius, Kiepert, and Forchhammer may also be mentioned among those who have favoured the location of Homeric Troy at Bunárbashi. The Homeric data which might be urged against it are of the 'particular' class: as (1) that the distance from the Hellespont—about nine miles—is too great for some incidents of the poem: (2) that Zeus could not have seen it from Gargarus: (3) that Achilles could not have chased Hector round the walls. As this last objection has been made prominent, it may be well to recall Mr. Senior's judicious remark, that 'the impossibility belongs to the story itself, not to any particular site'.[2] And Mr. Tozer happily reminds us that Aristotle classes this chase of Hector round Troy among impossibilities, the introduction of which by a poet is warrantable with a view to greater effect (*Poet.* 25).

Hitherto we have considered how far the general Homeric data *admit* Bunárbashi. But are there any which seem to *require* it, and to exclude Hissarlik? Again, are there any such data which seem to *require* Hissarlik and to exclude Bunárbashi?

In *Odyssey* 8, 499 *ff.*, the minstrel Demodocus tells the story of the wooden horse. 'The Trojans themselves had dragged it to the acropolis.' And they discussed three ways of dealing with it—to pierce the side—to let it stand there as a peace-offering to the gods—or, *to drag it to the summit and hurl it down from the rocks:*

ἢ κατὰ πετράων βαλέειν ἐρύσαντας ἐπ' ἄκρης.

The horse was already on the *acropolis:* the ἄκρη is a summit which crowns the acropolis. This distinction exactly suits the Bali Dagh. The πέτραι from which the horse was to be hurled are the precipices, immediately below the ἄκρη to the S. and S.W., which overhang the bed of the Mendere. The description is manifestly and totally inapplicable to the mound at Hissarlik. The poet who wrote those verses, or the older bard whom he followed, *must* have been thinking, either of the Bali Dagh, or of a site closely resembling it. But the Trojan plain presents no other similar site. Again, the Bali Dagh

[1] *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, p. 279.

[2] *Journal kept in Turkey and Greece*, p. 174.

appears to be distinctly required by the topography involved in *Iliad* 21, 556 *ff.*, where Agenor is to turn away from the walls into a plain different from the Trojan plain, and leading towards Ida. This incident is wholly unintelligible if the poet's Troy is placed at Hissarlik.

On the other hand, the site at Hissarlik is strongly suggested by the description of Ilios as standing in the plain (*ἐν πεδίῳ*.) in contrast with the older Dardania on the slopes of the hills (*ὑπωρεῖαι, Il.* 20, 216). It would, I think, be too strong to say that this *excludes* the site at Bunárbashi, since that site abuts on the plain, and *ὑπωρεῖαι Ἴδης* would more strictly apply to a site on the proper spurs of the Ida range, some twenty miles to the south, skirting the plain of Bairamitch. But let us assume that *ἐν πεδίῳ* means in the *open* plain, and reckon this notice to the advantage of Hissarlik. There is a spring close to the N.W. side of the mound, but, even if there had been two, the position would not suit the Homeric description. We will suppose, however, that the two Homeric springs once existed in this neighbourhood. For the rest, the Dumbrek may have been the Simois; and the space between Hissarlik and Sigeum is large enough for the movements of an epic poet's armies, whatever military critics might have to say on that subject.

Looking at the question in a broad way, then, I should put the case thus. It seems possible that, in the general conception of an Ionian poet or poets, composing an epic on the story of Troy, Hissarlik should have figured as the centre of the epic action. It is not improbable that the Aeolic Ilium may have been founded at Hissarlik before the tale of Troy had been worked up into the form of a large epic. In that case, the fact of a town with that *name* existing at Hissarlik would have been likely to influence Ionian poets in favour of the *site*. But we have seen that no one site in the Troad satisfies all the Homeric data for the position of Troy. May not the reason of this be that the Homeric topography is in fact—though not, perhaps, consciously—eclectic? May not the poet or poets have combined features which really belonged to different sites, without knowing, or without caring, that the resulting picture was one which could not be accurately localised at any single point in the Trojan plain? This is what has happened in other cases where a popular poetical legend has been developed from

a kernel of historical fact, as, for instance, in the romance of Charlemagne.

It has been seen that the Homeric poems bear very strong traces of the site above Bunárbashi, not merely in data of that 'particular' kind which here cannot fairly be pressed, but also in broad characteristics which are ascribed to the situation of Troy. Now, the first elements out of which the *Iliad* arose were probably Aeolic lays, celebrating the prowess of the Achaeans who first made conquests and established settlements in the Troad. In such lays the Troy captured by Achaeans may have been described as seated on the splendid natural acropolis of the Trojan plain, the hill above Bunárbashi; either because the Aeolic bards who made the lays possessed a tradition to that effect, or because it pleased them to magnify the exploit of the Achaean chiefs, whose glories they sang, by choosing the strongest and most striking situation for the town which had stood the long siege in days gone by. The Ionian poets, who at a later time worked up these lays, may be supposed to have known the Trojan plain in its general features, either from personal observation or from report. The Homeric poetry is never untrue to these general features; nay, it has several touches which show a close acquaintance with the natural phenomena of the northern Troad.[1]

Now, what would be the natural influence of such conditions as those just sketched on the topographical element in the work of the Ionian poets? They would seek to combine their own general impressions with any features which figured as *constant* in the Aeolic lays local to the Troad. Such features they would be reluctant, or afraid, to change. So, when they found that the Pergamos of Troy was regularly described as *αἰπεινή*, *ἠνεμόεσσα*, *ὀφρυόεσσα*, they would retain those epithets. In such an incident as the scheme of Agenor, which involves a large and familiar grasp of the topography, they would refrain from altering. But when they were inventing new incidents,

[1] This is well brought out in 'Notes on Bunárbashi and other sites in the Troad,' printed as an Appendix to Mr. J. T. Clarke's admirable Report on the investigations at Assos in 1881, pp. 142—165 (*Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, 1882). The author of these Notes, Mr. W. C. Lawton, has given an excellent description of the ground which he traversed,—marked alike by fine scholarship and graphic power. It should be read by those interested in the question, and can be obtained through Trübner.

or developing incidents from mere hints in the older local lays, the centre about which their ideas were grouped may well have been the site at Hissarlik; especially if a town called Ilion,—claiming, with however little proof, to stand where Homeric Troy had stood,—already occupied that site. For instance, the impossible incident of Achilles chasing Hector round and round the walls of a great city could have been *conceived* only by one who supposed the city to stand in a plain.

We find, then, that two claims may reasonably be allowed on behalf of the site at Hissarlik. (1) It may have witnessed a real siege which gave rise to the tale of Troy. (2) It may have represented the site of Troy as generally conceived by Ionian epos; though, mingled with those traits which suit Hissarlik, there are other traits which suit only Bunárbashi, and which may have been derived from older Aeolic lays, originating in the Troad, which served as material to the poets of Ionia. It would follow that the inconsistencies of Homeric data for the situation of Troy do not admit of being truly reconciled. We find that the Homeric topography is really eclectic, though we can no longer say how far the Ionian epos was conscious or unconscious of this fact.

A last question remains, and it is entirely distinct from those which have hitherto been discussed. The *Iliad* does not merely indicate a *position* for Troy. It gives us, in outline, a picture of Troy itself. Homeric Troy is 'a great town,' 'with broad streets.' On the Pergamos, rising in a slope above the lower city, was Priam's great palace of polished stone. This palace included twelve chambers for his daughters and their husbands, fifty chambers for his sons and their wives; so, with Priam and Hecuba, it lodged 126 princely persons. After allowing for retainers and domestics on the most frugal scale which royalty could tolerate, and for occasional guests of the hospitable monarch and his family, we perceive that we require 'a really large and imposing' house; in fact, a house which would not leave room for much else on the excavated area of Hissarlik. But this house was only one of the ornaments of the Pergamos. There was also the well-built house of Hector and the fair house of Paris,—the latter including a court-yard and a large hall. There was moreover a temple of Athene, a temple of Apollo, and a temple or

altar of Zeus. Now, it may be said that the Homeric poet was thinking of buildings which he had seen, or which he knew by tradition to have existed, on the acropolis at Hissarlik, and that he has merely used some exaggeration. As this argument has often been employed, or implied, in the discussions arising from Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, it is permissible to observe that poetical exaggeration has its limits. And, if those limits were stretched to their widest, they would be enormously exceeded by supposing that three palaces,—one of them lodging, at the very least, some 150 persons,—besides two or three temples, had ever had real counterparts within an area of some 325 yards by 235. The poet of the *Iliad* was not describing a town which he had ever seen at Hissarlik. He was not merely exaggerating the scale and the splendour of a town known to him through an approximately correct tradition. If anything in this question can be considered as certain, it is that the Homeric poet was creating an imaginary town on the site which he conceived as that of Troy. The surroundings—plain, hill, rivers—are drawn with general truth to nature. But the city itself—the broad streets, the temples, the vast palaces of marble—are works of the fancy. The poet's own age furnished the originals, just as it furnished so much of the manners and of the civilisation which he has ascribed to the heroic past. Here I may quote the recent words of an accomplished scholar and critic :—

'As Homer clearly sung of events far off in a mythic past, the ruins in Hissarlik may be ruins of a village whose fall is the historical germ of the tale of Troy. But Homer, using the local colour of his own time, described cities as great and durable as those of Phoenicia, which we see represented on the Assyrian bronze gates in the British Museum. To introduce Homer into the description of the ancient remains at Hissarlik is only to make inextricable confusion.'[1]

How far this confusion has been carried may best be judged from a single instance. In *Ilios*, the Priam's palace of the *Iliad* was identified with a very small ruined house at Hissarlik, of which the ground plan exhibits four rooms, measuring respectively about 24 feet 4 inches by 12 feet, 12 feet 3½ inches by 7 feet 4 inches, 10 feet by 8 feet, 7 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 6 inches. And it was seriously contended that this 'royal mansion'—with 'dependencies' which were not defined—might

[1] *Daily News*, October 19, 1882.

have held the 126 members of Priam's family (*Ilios*, p. 327). The idea which underlay this identification was the same which has constantly appeared in the tendency to magnify the scale of the remains at Hissarlik. If the Third City of *Ilios* was to be the Troy which Homer *described*, the largest house in it must be Priam's. But last summer's investigations have shown that the Third City was really a poor village.[1] 'Troy' is now to be the Second City, next below it. Now, therefore, Dr. Schliemann is free to observe that, in comparison with the buildings of the Second City, 'the houses of the third city are *altogether lilliputian*.'[2]

These seem to be the essential points which need to be brought out in any attempt to answer the question: 'How is the discovery at Hissarlik related to the *Iliad*?'

The sum of my answer is as follows:—

1. Hissarlik has one definite and unique claim—the presence of sufficiently old remains—to be regarded as the site of a town, the capture of which at an unknown date gave rise to the legend of the siege of Troy.

2. Hissarlik *may* represent the site of Troy as generally (though not consistently) imagined by the poet or poets who gave epic form to the legend of Troy.

3. The city of Troy, as described in the *Iliad*, is a creation of the poet's fancy, suggested by handsome cities of his own time. The Pergamos of the *Iliad* is conceived as having an area decidedly larger than that of the acropolis at Hissarlik. The spacious palaces and wide streets of the Homeric Troy point to a city totally different, both in scale and in character, from anything of which traces exist at Hissarlik. It is futile, then, to attempt an identification of buildings found at Hissarlik with buildings described by Homer. In this sense, Homeric Troy has *not* been found, and never can be found, because it never existed.

In conclusion I would only say that the purpose of this paper will have been attained if it should help, in however slight a degree, to interest scholars in the questions raised. That

[1] 'Das von Hrn. Schliemann bisher als 'Wohnung des Stadthauptes' bezeichnete Haus ist noch das beste in dem kleinen und ärmlichen Dorfe': Dr. Dörpfeld, *Allg. Zeitung*, Sept. 29, 1882.

[2] *North American Review*, Oct. 1882, p. 348.

scholars are entitled to discuss those questions, is a proposition which would probably receive general assent.

The just appreciation of Dr. Schliemann's work in the Troad has been impeded by special theories with which that work has been associated. A sense of the gratitude due to him from students cannot be better evinced than by the endeavour of independent criticism to disengage the real and permanent results of his labours from the chimeras with which they have needlessly been entangled.

In supplement to the foregoing discussion, I would ask leave to touch again on a collateral question, with which I attempted to deal in a former number of this Journal (Vol. III. pp. 7–43, 'Homeric and Hellenic Ilium').

What did the ancients themselves believe as to the site of Troy?

From a survey of the extant evidence, I drew the following conclusions:—

1. The general belief of antiquity was not only that Troy had been utterly destroyed, but also that the site had remained desolate.

2. The claim of the Greek Ilium at Hissarlik to occupy the site was merely a local legend, destitute of evidence. The Ilians showed the lyre of Paris, the shield of Achilles, the stone on which Palamedes played draughts. The collective opinion of intelligent antiquity rejected their claim.

In demonstrating the *fact* of the belief, I was careful to distinguish it from the *value*. 'The interest of the ancient belief,' I wrote, 'is principally historical. It is distinctly adverse to Hissarlik, and this should be frankly recognised. But it cannot detract from any positive presumption in favour of Hissarlik which Dr. Schliemann's actual discoveries may have established.'

The view expressed above has received the general assent of scholars whose attention has been directed to the point.

If any desire further evidence, they may be referred to the exhaustive citations of the authorities in Dr. E. Brentano's recent

Troia und Neu Ilion (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1882). He has accepted, and reinforced by further illustration, the argument of the article on 'Homeric and Hellenic Ilium.'

Meanwhile, Prof. J. P. Mahaffy had contributed to this Journal a paper on 'The Site and Antiquity of the Hellenic Ilion,' which appeared to be intended as a reply to mine, but confused the issue which I had argued with other issues which were not in question. His paper involved, in fact, three distinct propositions: (1) that Hissarlik is the site of Troy: (2) that Troy was not 'totally and finally destroyed': (3) that the Greek Ilium was generally recognised in antiquity as occupying the site of Troy.

Mr. Monro, reviewing Mr. Mahaffy's article in the *Academy*, remarked that its tone was 'somewhat needlessly controversial,' and that the writer's method 'lays him open to the charge of setting up men of straw, whom he does not distinguish carefully enough from his real antagonist.'[1] On this aspect of Mr. Mahaffy's paper, it is unnecessary to say more, except to observe that no mention of his name, or reference to him, had occurred in my article.[2] Since, however, he has entered the discussion, and desires a reply to his contentions, I am happy to furnish it. It will be conducive to a clear and convenient arrangement to take them under the several heads to which they are relevant.

1. *Was it the established belief of the ancients that Troy had been totally destroyed by the Greeks?* Mr. Mahaffy denies it (p. 72). We naturally ask: Where, then, is the evidence that the ancients believed the destruction to have been only partial? Mr. Mahaffy adduces two passages.

[1] *Academy*, Aug. 5, 1882.

[2] Mr. Mahaffy's five pages on this subject (*Ilios*, 686–690) added nothing of moment to Grote, vol. i. ch. xv. pp. 436—451. As to Demetrius of Scepsis, the development is curious to trace. (1) Grote, *l.c.* p. 443, merely suggested that the favour of Rome to the Ilians may have aroused some jealousy 'on the part of their neighbours at Scepsis and Alexandria Troas.' (2) Dr. Schliemann (*Troy*, p. 41, 1874) next stated positively that Demetrius 'envied the Ilians the honour of having been the metropolis of the Trojan kingdom. He *therefore* put forward the following theory,' &c. (3) Mr. Mahaffy (*Ilios*, p. 690, 1880), reverting to Grote's hint, then expressed the charge in this forcible language:—'The argument of Demetrius is merely that of a malevolent pedant, who hated the Ilians on account of their recent good fortune, and sought to detract from their respectability on antiquarian grounds,' &c.

(*a*) *Iliad* 20, 306 *ff.* :—

> ἤδη γὰρ Πριάμου γενεὴν ἤχθηρε Κρονίων·
> νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
> καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

'Of course,' Mr. Mahaffy remarks, 'the obvious inference from this passage was that Aeneas reigned at Troy.' Is it? Homer says simply, Τρώεσσιν. The Τρῶες are the people of Τροία, and Τροία in Homer means not only the town but the land. Achilles says that he has sacked *eleven cities* κατὰ Τροίην ἐρίβωλον (*Il.* 9, 329). Strabo specially explains this use of Τροία (xiii. 7) : πᾶσαν τὴν παραλίαν ταύτην ὑπὸ τοῖς Τρωσὶ γεγονέναι, διῃρημένην μὲν εἰς δυναστείας ἐννέα, ... λεγομένην δὲ Τροίαν : and when, in a later place of the same book, Strabo speaks of the inference from the *Iliad* that Aeneas had remained ἐν Τροίᾳ, it cannot be proved that he meant the town. Suppose, however, that he did so understand it. We have the Homeric text on which he is commenting, and can judge for ourselves how much is necessarily implied by Τρώεσσιν. And there is another Homeric text which strongly suggests that by Τρώεσσιν the poet meant simply the people of the land, not the town :—that prophecy of a day when Priam and Troy shall perish together (*Il.* 4, 165 *f.*). The 'obvious inference' would therefore be that the dynasty of Aeneas was conceived as destined to have a different capital. And we happen to know that Sophocles represented Aeneas, after the victory of the Greeks, as remaining in the *Troad*, but not remaining at *Troy*. In the *Laocoön* Aeneas was described as withdrawing to the slopes of Ida : this was the counsel of Anchises, prompted by recollection of precepts given by Aphrodite.[1] After the fall of Ilios, it would have been natural enough for a new shepherd of the people to seek a more secure site further inland ; and the version given by Sophocles—in strict accord with the Homeric phrase—points to a local tradition that the royal seat of the Aeneadae had been to the south of the Ilian plain. The author of the Hymn to Aphrodite, into which the glories of the Aeneadae enter, never alludes to a reign at *Troy* ; he, too, says simply, Τρώεσσιν. Can it now be said that *Iliad* 20, 306

[1] Dionys. i. 48.

ff. affords the slightest proof of a belief that the town of Troy had been but partially destroyed?

(*b*) The only other evidence produced is a legend used in a lost play of Sophocles,—that, when Troy was taken, *the house of Antenor* was spared through the friendly offices of Menelaus. Strabo introduces this with the words, Σοφοκλῆς γοῦν ἐν τῇ ἁλώσει τοῦ Ἰλίου, κ.τ.λ. (xiii. 53). Mr. Mahaffy renders this, 'Sophocles indeed in his *Capture of Troy* says,' &c. But the words ἐν τῇ ἁλώσει τοῦ Ἰλίου belong to what follows: 'S. says that, at the capture of Troy,' &c. For the title of a play, we should have had ἐν Ἰλίου Ἁλώσει, or more likely ἐν Ἰλίου Πέρσει. Strabo's citation is doubtless, as Nauck has seen, from the lost Ἀντηνορίδαι of Sophocles, mentioned in the argument to the *Ajax*. I note this, because Mr. Mahaffy implies that Sophocles had written a special drama on the Capture, in which its *incompleteness* was a well-marked feature: whereas all we know is that the legendary incident of this one house having been spared was noticed in a drama dealing with the fortunes of Antenor's descendants. The very point of the incident is that, when every other dwelling was doomed, this one alone escaped. Because Antenor's house was said to have been spared, was the destruction of Troy therefore regarded as merely partial? Alexander the Great razed Thebes to the ground. Was that destruction 'partial,' because he spared the house of Pindar? 'They utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old.' Was the destruction of Jericho partial, because Joshua spared the house of Rahab?

Mr. Mahaffy proceeds:—

'Polygnotus, in his famous pictures in the Lesche at Delphi, illustrated the Sophoclean view of the legend, and his pictures made it known to all visitors. *They all* contemplate only a partial destruction,' &c. '*They all*' are Homer, Sophocles, Polygnotus, and the visitors. But Homer and Sophocles, as we have already seen, are *not* witnesses for a merely partial destruction. Polygnotus and the visitors remain. Mr. Mahaffy gives no authority for his statement. But I am not aware that the paintings of Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi are described in detail by any extant 'visitor' except Pausanias. Pausanias describes them fully and minutely, devoting to them seven entire chapters of his Tenth Book, cc. 25—31. I have gone over

these carefully, in search of something which might explain Mr. Mahaffy's statement; and I can only say that I am wholly at a loss to comprehend whence he can have inferred that Polygnotus 'contemplated only a partial destruction of Troy.' From the beginning to the end of the long and exact account of Pausanias, there is not one word which implies anything of the kind. Mr. Mahaffy describes Polygnotus as 'illustrating the Sophoclean legend'—*i.e.* the sparing of Antenor's house. But it has already been pointed out that the sparing of that one house does not imply that the destruction of the city was merely partial. And Mr. Mahaffy has omitted to add that Polygnotus described Antenor and his household as *preparing to leave Troy*. The whole family was assembled at the door; servants were putting the luggage on a donkey; and a little Antenorid had already mounted another donkey (Paus. x. 27, 4).

We have now seen that the two isolated passages adduced (*Il.* 20, 306, Strabo xiii. 53) prove nothing, and that the assertion as to Polygnotus is incorrect. On the other side is the evidence of all ancient literature. It was the settled belief of antiquity that the destruction of Troy had been *total*.

2. The next point is, *Was the destruction of Troy believed to have been* final *as well as* total?—Mr. Mahaffy says, No; even when the ancient poets and prose-writers describe the ruin of Troy as total, they do not mean to exclude the idea that, after a short interval, it rose again on the same site.

I, on the other hand, think that these authors manifestly imply, even where they do not expressly say, that the ruin was final as well as total,—that the site had remained desolate. It is unnecessary, however, to dwell on what they imply. Let us see what some of them expressly say.

The orator Lycurgus, speaking about 332–330 B.C., says:—*τὴν Τροίαν τίς οὐκ ἀκήκοεν, ὅτι μεγίστη γεγενημένη τῶν τοτε πόλεων καὶ πάσης ἐπάρξασα τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς ἅπαξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεσκάφη, τὸν αἰῶνα ἀοίκητός ἐστι;*[1] 'Who has not heard of Troy, how it had become the greatest city of its time, the mistress of Asia, and how, *since it was demolished once for all by the Greeks, it has been left uninhabited through the ages?*'

[1] *In Leocratem*, § 62.

The known character and tastes of Lycurgus entitle this definite and precise statement to be regarded as representing the belief received by the best informed Greeks in the fourth century B.C. He was a man who was peculiarly likely to be familiar with the existing tradition about Troy, and to be accurate in reporting it. How does Mr. Mahaffy propose to meet this unanswerable proof? He suggests that *ἀοίκητος* does not mean '*uninhabited*.'

'*ἀοίκητος* may have been used by Lycurgus to signify, not the complete desertion of the site, but its disappearance [*sic*] from among the catalogue of Greek independent *πόλεις*.'

That is, Lycurgus, according to Mr. Mahaffy, did not mean to say that the site of Troy was deserted; he only meant to say that the Greek Ilion was no longer in 'the catalogue of independent Greek *πόλεις*.' How, then, are we to *translate* *ἀοίκητος*? It must signify: '*no longer represented by an independent Greek city*.' And what evidence is there for this pregnant force of *ἀοίκητος*? The use, says Mr. Mahaffy, of *οἰκίζειν*, as meaning, 'to make a new Hellenic polity on a spot inhabited by barbarians or villagers.' But *ἀοίκητος* has nothing to do with *οἰκίζειν*: it is from *οἰκέω*: the correlative of *οἰκίζειν* would be *ἀοίκιστος*. Now suppose that it were *ἀοίκιστος*, and that *ἀοίκιστος* could mean all that Mr. Mahaffy imagines. There would remain this awkward fact,—that, when Lycurgus spoke, the Greek Ilion *was* 'in the catalogue of independent Greek *πόλεις*.' Alexander had visited it just after the battle of the Granicus (334 B.C.); had given it the title of city (*πόλιν προσαγορεῦσαι*), and had decreed that it should be free, with exemption from taxes: *ἐλευθέραν τε κρῖναι καὶ ἄφορον*, Strabo, xiii. § 36. Now, I had noticed this visit of Alexander to the Greek Ilion—a visit which had so vividly impressed the Greek mind—as making it inconceivable that Lycurgus, when in his speech two or three years later he said *ἀοίκητος*, could have been overlooking the existence of the Greek Ilion. Mr. Mahaffy says:—

'I had accepted this reading of the facts about Alexander and Ilion, but I now confess that I was here in error. It is clear enough in this case that Alexander only made promises and gave orders.'

This is beside the question. No one had said that new *buildings* were commenced at Ilion during Alexander's visit. It was that

visit itself, with its impressive circumstances, and the honours which Alexander *then* bestowed on Ilion by his proclamation that it should be πόλις ἐλευθέρα τε καὶ ἄφορος, that attracted attention. Mr. Mahaffy supposes that Alexander's visit drew little notice. Why, Dicaearchus is quoted as recording minute details of it ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας,—which, if not a special treatise, must have been at least a special section of his Βίος Ἑλλάδος.[1] Arrian, Plutarch, Justin, Strabo, are other witnesses. Grote does ample justice to the interest and significance of the episode. 'The coincidence of time *then* between Lycurgus' speech and Alexander's promises has no historical importance,' says Mr. Mahaffy. '*Then*'—*i.e.* on the hypothesis that the visit had been little noticed. But if, on the contrary, it had strongly impressed the Hellenic world, as it did, *then* the coincidence in question *is* important. Mr. Mahaffy has one more reason for not believing Lycurgus, and it is a truly curious reason. That statesman was '*steeped in Greek tragedies about the fall of Troy*' (p. 77). This alludes to the tradition that Lycurgus took measures for establishing accurate texts of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, which should be laid up in the public archives of Athens, and should be the standard texts for the theatre. So the fact that Lycurgus showed an interest in the tragic poets becomes presumptive evidence that he would have been exceptionally ignorant about the site of Troy. The fact that he gave a signal proof of love for accuracy becomes presumptive evidence that he would have been apt to make a remarkable blunder.

We now turn to Strabo. Homer, says Strabo, has expressly indicated the utter destruction of Troy: Ὅμηρος δὲ ῥητῶς τὸν ἀφανισμὸν τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν. He then adds:—ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι τὸν ἀφανισμὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ ῥήτωρ (xiii. 41): 'And *the later writers also*'—*i.e.* not *Homer* only, but post-Homeric writers too—'agree on the utter destruction of the city; among whom is the orator Lycurgus' (alluding to the passage just quoted). It is almost incredible that Mr. Mahaffy should have commented on Strabo's statement thus:—

'The νεώτεροι are of course not post-Homeric writers generally, as some have ventured to translate it, but the party of Demetrius [*circ.* 190

[1] Athen. xiii. 603, *A*, *B*; Müller, *Fragm. Hist.* ii. 241.

B.C.], who have with them, among older authorities, the orator Lycurgus. It is perfectly clear that he is the only earlier authority [*i.e.* earlier than Demetrius] asserting the final destruction of Troy by the Greeks, (p. 72).

Mr. Monro has already pointed out that the phrase *οἱ νεώτεροι* is 'a common one—as in the scholia—denoting post-Homeric writers of every possible kind.'[1] And here in Strabo the context makes this additionally clear. Strabo says that the total destruction of Troy is recognised, not only by Homer himself, but by the general consent of those who have come after him.

Strabo continues:—*εἰκάζουσι δὲ τοὺς ὕστερον, ἀνακτίσαι διανοουμένους, οἰωνίσασθαι τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον, εἴτε διὰ τὰς συμφοράς, εἴτε καὶ καταρασαμένου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος.* 'They (the post-Homeric writers) conjecture that the men of a later time, when they thought of making a new settlement, shunned that spot (the site of Homeric Troy) as ill-omened—either because of its disasters, or because Agamemnon had cursed it after an ancient custom' (as when Croesus, for instance, cursed the site of Sidene.) Strabo has already told us that the post-Homeric writers agree as to the *fact* of Troy's site having been left desolate. About *that* there was no disagreement. But two different *causes* had been suggested;—(1) a general feeling that the spot was unlucky, (2) a special curse;—and *εἰκάζουσι* refers to these conjectures. But Mr. Mahaffy takes *εἰκάζουσι* as if it implied doubt of the *fact* of the desolation, about which Strabo has just told us that these writers *ὁμολογοῦσι*. The superstitious dread mentioned here as having connected itself with the deserted site of Troy can be illustrated from an independent source. There was a legend that, before the founding of Troy, the site had been known as 'the hill of the Phrygian Atè'; and Dardanus was said to have been warned against it by an oracle, which induced him to found Dardania further inland.[2] The legend is in itself another indication that the site supposed to have been that of Troy had been left desolate. Popular tradition affirmed that even the one city which had arisen there, to perish so signally, had been built in disregard of a divine warning.

[1] *Academy*, August 5, 1882.

[2] Brentano, *Troia und Neu Ilion*, p. 1, who refers to Lycophron, *Alex.* 29, and the scholion.

In the belief of the ancients, as disclosed by ancient literature, the destruction of Troy had been both *total* and *final*.

3. But, for the opposite view, it is claimed that there is evidence other than literary: that, namely, of homage paid to the Greek Ilium by distinguished visitors, who thus implied their admission of its claim to be the local heir of Troy. This argument arises from a neglect of the distinction which I endeavoured to make clear in my paper on 'Homeric and Hellenic Ilium' (pp. 30 *f.*) The 'mythical legitimacy' of the Greek Ilium had two aspects—the political and the antiquarian. Alexander, entering Asia, welcomed a local legend which was ready, in its turn, to sanction his claim of descent from the Aeacidae. The Romans, entering Asia, welcomed a local legend which was ready to sanction their claim of descent from Aeneas. What did Alexander or Lucius Scipio care about the proof or probability of the local legend? Thenceforward the Greek Ilium was the Homeric Troy of Roman officials and Emperors.

Yet Mr. Mahaffy can speak of '*this strong historical proof* from the acts and acquiescence of *leading public men* in older days.' Who were these men? Here is his list:—(i.) Xerxes, Herod. vii., 42. (ii.) Mindarus, Xen. *H.* i., 4, 4. [Xenophon says absolutely nothing but that Mindarus was ἐν Ἰλίῳ θέων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, when he observed that a sea-fight was taking place in the Hellespont.] (iii.) Alexander the Great. 'What need have we,' Mr. Mahaffy asks, 'of further evidence?' None, indeed. When Xerxes, Mindarus, and Alexander the Great are quoted in such a court, the only possible reply is embodied in an observation which proceeded from the Bench at a celebrated trial. 'What the soldier said' is not evidence.

That which is really shown by such visits as those of Alexander and Lucius Scipio is the versatility with which the Greek Ilians could adapt their local legend to the exigencies of each occasion. As to the herd of helpless sightseers, their credulity is chiefly interesting as showing how little twenty centuries have altered the average nature of the 'personally conducted' tourist.

4. The claim made by Mr. Mahaffy on behalf of the Greek Ilium is twofold: (*a*) that it stood on the site of Troy: (*b*) that its existence had been virtually continuous with that of Troy.

He says that 'the alleged foundation of Ilion in historical times on a new site was not true': 'probably Ilion succeeded to the site and traditions of Troy without *any considerable interruption*' (p. 69). But Dr. Schliemann—with whom Mr. Mahaffy professes to be in complete agreement—holds that all traces of the Greek Ilion cease at 6 feet below the surface, and that beneath it *three prehistoric cities* come on top of Homeric Troy. Do not three successive prehistoric cities imply an 'interruption' which might fairly be called 'considerable'? Let us now see what is the evidence for the hypothesis that the Greek Ilium succeeded 'without any considerable interruption' to the site and traditions of Troy. Mr. Mahaffy puts it thus (p. 74):—

'It is clear that the main claim of the Ilians, beyond the venerable antiquity of their shrine of the Ilian Athene, was the annual pilgrimage of Locrian virgins, sent to expiate the crime of Ajax. It was certainly as old as the Cyclic poets.'

But (1) as to the temple of the Ilian Athene, there is absolutely no reason to suppose that it dated from a period earlier than the foundation of the Greek Ilium itself. The oldest evidence for the existence of the temple does not go back beyond the sixth or seventh century B.C. Dr. Brentano has worked out this point fully and clearly (*Troia und Neu Ilion*, pp. 39 *ff.*). He has also shown (pp. 33 *ff.*) that the identity of *name* (Ilion) proves nothing whatever for identity of *site*. The first Aeolic settlers gave Homeric names to their settlements, as it suited their taste and fancy. Thus the Homeric Dardania was on the slopes of Ida: the historical Aeolic Dardanus was on the shore of the Hellespont. Thus, again, the site of the Homeric Thymbra was probably not identical with that of the historic Thymbra.[1] Hence, in the first instance, that confusion in the nomenclature of the Troad on which Strabo dwells at the beginning of Book xiii., a confusion which was afterwards aggravated by the not unfrequent removal of a settlement from one spot to another; as Scepsis, for instance, was in historical times distinguished from 'old Scepsis,' *Palaiscepsis*, about seven miles off. There is no reason, then, for supposing that the settlers at Hissarlik called their town 'Ilion' because they found a temple of Athene Ilias already existing there. (2) As to the yearly tribute of two virgins, whom the

[1] Mr. F. Calvert in *Ilios*, p. 708.

Locrians sent yearly to Ilium, Strabo says that it was established Περσῶν ἤδη κρατούντων (xiii. 40); that is, when the Persian power, under the elder Cyrus, was becoming predominant. Mr. Mahaffy reproves Strabo for saying that the tribute did not begin *till the Persian Wars:* which Strabo does not say. The tribute, it seems, was 'as old as the Cyclic poets.' But this is compatible with its having originated at about the time indicated by Strabo—the earlier half of the sixth century B.C.—and in any case would not carry us back much beyond 700 B.C. What the tribute plainly means is the wish of an oracular priesthood in Greece Proper — doubtless the Delphic—to enhance the prestige of the temple of Athene Ilias in the Troad. The Locrians were in some trouble, and the oracle imposed a penance which could be linked to the myth of Ajax and Cassandra. The date of the Ilian temple gives a superior limit for the date of the first Locrian tribute. And on independent grounds it is likely that the temple arose about, or not much before, 700 B.C. The period from 700 to 550 B.C. is roughly that within which the tribute probably began.

5. *The authority of Hellanicus.* Polemon of Ilium, about 200 B.C., set forth the local legend of his town in its completeness — mentioning the extant stone on which Palamedes had played draughts &c. Besides Polemon, only one solitary writer is known to have acknowledged the Ilian claim. This was the logographer Hellanicus of Mitylene. As Mr. Tozer remarks, 'We may conclude that Strabo was not unfair in accusing him of doing it '*to gratify the Ilians, as was his wont*,' for they were of Aeolian origin like himself.'[1] The task of Hellanicus was to collect the local legends of each place as he found them. Besides being wholly uncritical, he seems to have been often careless. Strabo, at least, describes him (with reference to his Αἰτωλικά) as πλείστην εὐχέρειαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐν πάσῃ σχεδόν τι τῇ γραφῇ (x. 11). Sopater mentions his treatise on Egypt as full of μυθικὰ καὶ πλασματικά. Thucydides, speaking of his references to the Μηδικά in his Attic History, says that he has touched on them βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς. Let us now see what Mr. Mahaffy urges in his favour.

(*a*) 'Thucydides himself, who never cites other writers, selects

[1] *Highlands of Turkey*, ii. 354.

Hellanicus alone for critical censure as to his chronology. *This solitary citation clearly proves the importance of the man.*' Hellanicus is the more trustworthy, then, because Thucydides notes his inaccuracy.

(*b*) 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus, though speaking with contempt of them [the logographers], alludes repeatedly to this particular man, Hellanicus, as an authority of importance on *local legends*.' Just so. Hellanicus reported the local legend of the Ilians. But the question is whether he was a capable *critic* of it—whether he proves anything more than its existence. And not a word in Dionysius or any other writer implies this. Dionysius says (i. 48), 'The most credible of the legends about Aeneas' flight—which Hellanicus, amongst old writers, adopts—is on this wise.' This, again, merely shows that Hellanicus adopted the local legend which he found prevalent; and we know from Strabo that the legend in question was that which was commonly current in the Troad (xiii. 53), where Hellanicus found it. So in i. 22, Dionysius classes Hellanicus with *οἱ λόγου ἄξιοι*, because, by his large collections of local stories, he was a very useful source for *them*.

(*c*) The recorded errors of Hellanicus prove nothing against his authority, Mr. Mahaffy argues, because Strabo also makes mistakes. 'The proper answer is to apply the same sort of argument to his critic Strabo.' Strabo, though as unlike as possible to Hellanicus, did not differ from other men in being infallible; but he is not liable to the only charge which Mr. Mahaffy has to lay against him. When Strabo says that Mycenae *κατεσκάφησαν ὑπ' Ἀργείων ὥστε νῦν μηδ' ἴχνος εὑρίσκεσθαι τῆς Μυκηναίων πόλεως* (viii. 6, § 10), he is speaking of deserted sites in Argolis, and instances Mycenae as a formerly populous place which has no longer an inhabited house on it. It is manifestly unjust to accuse Strabo of a blunder because, here, he has not mentioned the so-called Treasuries and the Gate of Lions. Nor is there the least sound reason for doubting Strabo's accuracy when he says that Mycenae was destroyed by the Argives in 468 B.C. He is confirmed by Diodorus and Pausanias. Mr. Mahaffy's hypothesis that Mycenae was destroyed before the fifth century B.C. has no evidence. Herodotus tells us that Mycenae was represented by troops at Thermopylae and Plataea.[1] And a con-

[1] Her. vii. 202; ix. 28.

temporary witness of his statement is extant to this hour. The name of the Myceneans stood between that of the Thespians and the men of Ceos in the inscription on the bronze serpentine column which the Greeks dedicated at Delphi after the battle of Plataea, and which is now at Constantinople.[1]

6. *Demetrius of Scepsis.* While Hellanicus is the *only* non-Ilian writer who allowed the Ilian claim, Demetrius, by his local knowledge and Homeric studies, had special weight among those who denied it. Hence it has been thought necessary to discredit his evidence by assuming unworthy motives. According to Mr. Mahaffy, he was 'a malevolent pedant.' The supposed reason of this unamiable disposition is curious. Demetrius belonged to the town of Scepsis. The Greek Ilium had lately received favours from the Romans. Demetrius, accordingly, '*hated the Ilians on account of their recent good fortune, and sought to detract from their respectability on antiquarian grounds.*' And so Demetrius would not hear of Homeric Troy having been at Ilium. So vividly can Mr. Mahaffy conceive the emotions which agitated the bosom of the Scepsian, that he is able to give us the very form in which the meditations of this envious pedant clothed themselves. Demetrius mused thus:—

'These vain and overbearing upstarts are now great and rich; but even I remember their town a set of contemptible ruins' (Mahaffy, p. 78).

It is but a prosaic criticism on this soliloquy that there is no reason for supposing Demetrius to have been jealous of the Ilians. The Τρωϊκὸς διάκοσμος[2] was the chief work of his life, and it is reasonable to suppose that, in it, he cared about nothing so much as getting his Homeric topography right. The absurdity of supposing that he made it wrong in order to spite the burgesses of Ilium becomes still more grotesque

[1] Rawlinson, *Herod.* vol. iv. 390, Note A.

[2] On this title, Mr. Mahaffy wrote as follows (*Academy*, Oct. 21, 1882): 'Demetrius of Scepsis . . . with profound but unconscious irony called his work Τρωικὸς διάκοσμος. διάκοσμος, indeed! Τρωικὴ διατάραξις would have been nearer the mark!'

Mr. Mahaffy evidently supposed the title to mean 'An ordered topography of the Troad'—his point being that the book merely produced confusion. But the title meant '*The Marshalling of the Trojans*'—Demetrius basing his topographical survey on the Catalogue in *Iliad* ii., which was often called ὁ διάκοσμος: cp. Strabo xii. 542, Καλλισθένης δὲ καὶ ἔγραφε τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα εἰς τὸν διάκοσμον, μετὰ τὸ 'Κρῶμνάν τ' Αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ὑψηλοὺς 'Ερυθίνους' (*Il.* ii. 855).

when it is observed that his own town, Scepsis, was not Ilium's rival. His own view was that the *βασίλειον* of Aeneas had been at Scepsis. Neither he nor any one else dreamed of setting up Scepsis as Troy. Strabo, who expressly notes that Hellanicus was prejudiced *in favour of* the Ilians, would not have been silent if he had had cause to think that Demetrius was prejudiced *against* them. *Arguments* against the credibility of Demetrius there are none. Mr. Mahaffy casts doubt on his statement that, about 190 B.C., Ilium was a poor and decayed place, and contends that it is inconsistent with Ilium having been the head of a *κοινόν* about 230-220 B.C. But this *κοινόν* included only the petty towns of a portion of the Troad. Why should not a decayed town have still been the chief of such a district, especially when it retained the prestige of the honours bestowed to it by Alexander? And Demetrius is confirmed here by an independent witness. Hegesianax stated that the Gauls, about 278 B.C., had gone to Ilium, *παραχρῆμα δ' ἐκλιπεῖν διὰ τὸ ἀτείχιστον* (Müller, *Frag. Hist.* iii. 70).

Lycurgus, and the post-Homeric writers generally, were with Demetrius in refusing to recognise the claim of the Greek Ilium. The peculiar interest of the testimony of Demetrius consists in its being that of a man who had two special qualifications for judging: (*a*) he lived in the Troad, and knew it thoroughly: (*b*) he was a close student of the Homeric poems.

It has been argued that, because Hellanicus and Demetrius are represented by fragments only, they are both alike 'unknown quantities.' The fallacy is evident. It is the general credibility of these two writers, *as reported by others*, that is here in question. The ancient citations of Hellanicus fill twenty-four large pages in Müller's work (*Frag. Hist.* i. 45-69). The remains of Demetrius have lately been the subject of a special treatise (Gaede, *Demetrii Scepsii quae supersunt*, Greifswald, 1880). We have abundant evidence for estimating the general characteristics of each, and the general repute of each in antiquity. After Mr. Mahaffy's denunciations of Demetrius and panegyrics on Hellanicus, it is astonishing to find him saying, as he said lately, that such comparisons of their authority are necessarily futile, because '*the works of each author are irretrievably lost.*'[1]

[1] *Academy*, October 21, 1882.

I have now examined Prof. Mahaffy's statements in detail. In conclusion, I desire to repeat that my attitude has been strictly defensive. This reply has been written solely because it was formally demanded. The result is as follows:—

1. The general belief of the ancient world was that Homeric Troy had been utterly destroyed, and that its site had remained desolate.

2. The local legend of the Greek Ilians was rejected by the common consent of intelligent antiquity.

The *fact* of the ancient belief having been established, its *significance* in relation to recent discoveries at Hissarlik might be thus defined:—It attests the general sense of those ancients who were familiar with the topographical data of the *Iliad* that Hissarlik does not suit them all. And thus it tends to confirm the position taken up in my remarks on the relation of Hissarlik to the *Iliad*, that the topography of the *Iliad* is probably eclectic.

R. C. Jebb.

EXPLORATIONS IN AEOLIS.

In his valuable *Contributions to the History of Southern Aeolis*, Mr. Ramsay remarks (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* II. 2, p. 278): 'In the plain of the Kodja we might expect more than one Aeolic settlement, if it be fully explored.' This prediction was verified a few months only after it was written by discoveries made in this district in the spring of 1881, by Mr. George Dennis, M. Salomon Reinach, M. Baltazzi, and myself. I published a brief account of them in the *Academy* of April 9th, 1881, and M. Reinach has alluded to them, in the history of his excavations on the site of Myrina, in the *Bulletin de Correspondence hellénique*, April 1882; but no details in regard to them have yet appeared. These details I now propose to give, throwing the account of them, for the sake of convenience, into narrative form.

Mr. Ramsay has already explained the topography of the coast from Myrina to Kymê. Midway between the two, about two and a half miles from Kymê and three from Myrina, stands the little Greek village of Ali Aghá, while the Koja Chai, or 'Big River,' flows into the sea just below the ancient acropolis of Myrina, now known as Kalabassary. The Koja runs in an easterly direction, turning slightly to the north about eight miles from its mouth, towards the ruins of Namrût Kalessi, already described by both Mr. Ramsay and M. Reinach. Before entering the sea it is joined by a stream which runs past the village of Güzel Hissár. At Ali Aghá, which has been supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Adae, M. Baltazzi has a comfortable country-house, built in the French style a few years ago.

It was to this house that he invited Mr. George Dennis and myself in the March of 1881. A French gentleman,

M. Guichon, living at Smyrna, had informed him that some twenty years previously he had seen a figure, resembling the pseudo-Sesostris in the pass of Karabel, carved out of the rock and placed in a niche a few miles to the north-east of Ali Aghá. The niche, which had somewhat the shape of a rock-hewn chamber, was on the south-western slope of a hill on the southern side of the Koja Chai. Furnished with these indications, M. Baltazzi paid me a visit, in the hope that we might discover in company another monument of the Hittite period. As most of the property in the neighbourhood of Ali Aghá belonged to his family, while he paid a kind of blackmail to the brigands who infest the district, he explained that explorations could be made under his escort with unusual ease and security.

Mr. Dennis and myself accordingly started from Smyrna along with M. Baltazzi in a small steamer, which touched on its way at both Old and New Phokaea. On our way, we examined the site of Leukê through our glasses, and, more fortunate than Mr. Pullan, detected fragments of ancient masonry lying on the south-eastern side of the foot of the hill on which it stood. The place is difficult of access, as on the land side it is surrounded by the marshes of the Hermos which are impassable in the winter, while on the seaward side the shallows prevent the passage of boats. Old and New Phokaea are both too well known to need any description; at Old Phokaea, a native informed us that the foundations of an ancient temple are still to be seen among the ruins of a church on a little island which lies in front of the harbour. After leaving New Phokaea we steamed into the Gulf of Chanderly, the Arginussae islands being to our left. In the distance, above Elaea at the head of the Gulf, the white line of M. Humann's excavations on the acropolis of Pergamon glittered in the sun, crowning the brow of the hill like a circlet of silver. At last we came in sight of Ali Aghá, and with some little difficulty, ourselves and baggage were transferred to the comfortable shelter of M. Baltazzi's house.

Here we found M. Reinach arranging the spoils of the excavations he was conducting for the French School of Athens at Myrina and Kymê. The workmen had just brought in some archaistic figures of Kybelê they had found at Kymê (now represented by Namurt). We afterwards walked over to see

the place from which they had come. It formed part of the necropolis of the later Kymê and lay close to the sea-shore. As the tombs (which belonged to the Roman period) were excavated in the soil to the virgin rock itself, it was difficult to account for the presence of the figures of the goddess among them, except by supposing that the necropolis had extended over a site on which a temple or chapel had once stood. At any rate, I found it impossible to believe that the earlier Kymê, whose foundation was said to go back to the Amazons, could have been so near the coast as this necropolis would imply. There is no other prehistoric site in Asia Minor with which I am acquainted that is so near the sea, and I noticed a hill about two miles to the east which seemed to me more probably to represent the primitive city. M. Reinach had not examined the spot, however, and I was unable to carry out my intention of doing so the following day in consequence of a snow-storm which confined us to the house.

The day afterwards was fairly fine, and we set off in pursuit of the sculptured figure of which M. Guichon had spoken. Our course led us across the plain to the east of Ali Aghá, past an ancient raised road which runs in a nearly straight line from the shore to the village of Güzel Hissár, at the foot of the Dumanly Dagh. On our way we noticed to the left of us a small eminence of cretaceous limestone, not far from Güzel Hissár, which was pierced with tombs of the Greek period. Six of these still remained on its eastern side, besides several others on the west. Mr. Ramsay has shown good reason for believing that the site of Aegae must be transferred from Güzel Hissár, where it was fixed by Kiepert, to Namrût Kalessi. At the same time the tombs we discovered seem to show that some ancient town once existed at, or near, Güzel Hissár, as they are too far from Ali Aghá to belong to a city standing there; moreover, I observed a fragment of Greek sculpture at a spring close to the village. It is therefore possible that Adae, which is placed by Strabo between Kymê and Myrina, stood at Güzel Hissár and not at Ali Aghá.[1]

[1] M. Reinach, however, may be right in identifying the Cape Hydra of Strabo with Lija Bornû, in which case Adae will have stood on the promontory of Arab Chiflik, and the city to which the tombs of Güzel Hissár belonged must remain undetermined.

Leaving Guzel Hissár to our right we rode towards the hill indicated by M. Guichon. Here, indeed, we could neither find nor hear of any sculpture, but we discovered what proved quite as interesting. This was the site of an ancient acropolis surrounded by walls of Cyclopean masonry in a good state of preservation. The Cyclopean work was of the best period and ran round both the base and the upper portion of the crag on which the prehistoric city had been built. The crag rose precipitously on the north side, where its foot was washed by the Koja Chai, and where two or three Greek tombs have been cut in the cliff. As we climbed the south-western face of the crag, we found that it ended in a double summit, the western summit being the higher of the two. On the top of this was the entrance which looked towards the north-east. The two gate-posts, each consisting of a single block of stone like those of Mykênae, still remained, though one was fallen and broken in half; but the lintel-stone was gone. The posts, however, showed traces of the ledges on which it had rested. According to M. Reinach's measurements, the upright monolith was two metres five centimetres long, by one metre twenty-five centimetres broad in the thickest part, while the fallen monolith was two metres fifteen centimetres long, by one metre ten centimetres broad. The difference in length is easily accounted for by the fact that a portion of the upright monolith is buried in the ground. The road led down from the entrance in an eastward direction into the valley of Uzûn Hassanly, so called from a village to the north-east of the old acropolis. At a little distance from the gate it consisted of a flight of steps cut in the rock. After passing through the entrance, and so entering the original precincts of the acropolis, we came upon the remains of a building which may have been a temple. Close to it was a pool filled with water in which I noticed some fragments of cut stone. Not far off were the remains of a tomb of the Hellenic period, above which I found an inscription in Greek letters cut in the rock. The inscription consisted of a single line, but the only letters still visible were NY . . . C . . . O. The form of the C proves it to belong to the age of the Greek Myrina. Below the western summit we came across a cistern and what looked like a trench cut in the rock, as well as some more Hellenic tombs, partly cut in the rock, partly excavated in the ground.

The lower or eastern summit of the crag was fortified like the rest of the acropolis, and one of the corner-stones of its inclosing wall which I measured was eighty-eight inches long by fifty-five broad. The stone had been shaped by cleavage, the drill-holes being still visible in several places, and there was no trace of a metal tool. To the north, but within the walls of the acropolis, a Hellenic tomb had been hollowed out of the cliff into two shallow chambers, one smaller than the other and with a pyramidal roof. Eastward of the acropolis itself another similar tomb had been cut in the north face of an isolated fragment of rock which rises from the plateau below.

The whole site occupies a commanding position, and from its western summit we looked down upon Kalabassary, the historical Myrina, about six miles distant. The Greek tombs found within it show that it was uninhabited in the historical period, and probably belonged to one of the richer Greek families of Myrina. Everything, in fact, points to its having been one of those native cities of Aeolis which were destroyed by the Greeks when they occupied the coast and which were never subsequently inhabited. The Cyclopean masonry, the absence of any trace of metal, the inland situation, all indicate its pre-Hellenic and pre-historic character. This was confirmed by our finding no pottery of the historical age on the site, except fragments of Hellenic ware in the neighbourhood of the recently-rifled tombs. I believe, therefore, that the site represents the pre-Hellenic city of Myrina, founded, according to tradition, by the Amazons; or, as I should prefer to say, during the Hittite epoch. After its destruction and abandonment, its name was transferred by the Greek settlers to their new city of Myrina at the mouth of the river, six miles away.[1]

The day after our discovery of this early site we first visited the excavations at Kalabassary, and then rode along the northern bank of the Koja Chai, keeping a ruined aqueduct on our right and passing, on the west side of the present road to Pergamos, a raised paved road that must formerly have led in the same direction and have joined the Roman raised road in the plain of which I have already spoken, and to which it would have

[1] In the excellent map prefixed to the article of MM. Pottier and Reinach in the *Bull. de Corr. hell.* April 1882, the site is called Uzûn-Hassanly from the village near it.

run at right angles. It was carried across the river by a Roman bridge, now in ruins. After a time we passed what I shall venture to call Old Myrina on the opposite side of the river, and soon came to a point where a narrow channel was cut through a ridge of rock that projected into the river. This channel, we soon discovered, was a continuation of the aqueduct already noticed. After this we had to climb a rugged mass of cliff, and then descend the other side of it in order to regain the bed of the river. Here we unexpectedly came across an artificial cutting through the rock, about thirty-two yards in length, and twenty-five feet in height at the highest part, the cutting itself being about two feet broad. It curved towards the north-east, and at the eastern end led into a natural basin of deep, pure water formed by a square recess in the cliff that bounded the river. At this end the rock had been left so as to form a double arch, the space between the arches having been cut away sheer to the top of the cliff as in the other part of the channel. Just midway in the cutting, and on its southern side, a large basaltic block that jutted out from the conglomerate wall of the channel had been carved into the rude likeness of a bull's head, of which we took drawings. The head was twenty-five inches in length, the nose being ten inches in height. The rock through which the channel was cut projected into the river, and the remains of a tablet, which perhaps once contained an inscription, were visible on one part of its external face just over the water. On the western side the mouth of the cutting opened into a channel formed by a double mound of earth. This bore away to the rock-cut channel we had passed before climbing the cliff, so that the object of the whole work was plain. It was an aqueduct intended to convey to Myrina the waters of the Koja Chai, from a point in its course where they had not yet been contaminated by the marshy land of the plain through which they afterwards ran. The western portion of the aqueduct had been repaired in mediaeval times; though we could not find any decisive evidences of Byzantine workmanship eastward of a ruined village and mill, which we passed just before reaching the first rock-cut channel. The head of the aqueduct is about nine miles from the mouth of the Koja, which immediately afterwards makes a sharp bend to the north.

The day's discoveries, however, did not end here. We next

forded the river, and then dragged our horses up a steep and rugged cliff on its southern side. On reaching the summit we found ourselves on a lofty plateau, higher than the highest portion of Old Myrina, but above which towered a crag of broken rock partially covered with snow. Leaving M. Baltazzi to look after the horses, Mr. Dennis, M. Reinach, and myself made our way up this on foot, and soon discovered that the whole crag was surrounded by a wall of Cyclopean masonry of far ruder construction than that of the site we had visited the day before. The crag formed the western summit of a ridge, which had a second summit of the same height and breadth, but of about twice the length, stretching along towards the east. At its western extremity a triangular mass of rock jutted out at a lower level than the rest of the crag and looked towards the site of Old Myrina which lay at a considerable distance below. This triangular mass was carefully fortified with a well-preserved but rude Cyclopean wall, and the foundations of a square building lay a little to the rear of it on the southern side of the crag. From the line of wall on its northern side we looked down upon Namrût Kalessi, which rose into the sky some seven miles further up the valley of the Koja. On the same side a Yuruk village was built on the lower slope of the ridge on which we stood, while in the valley on the other or southern side was the village of Uzûn Hassanly. It was on this side that the old fortress had been approached as was also the case with Old Myrina. It protected, in fact, the entrance to the valley, and its possession would have given the Greek invaders of the country the command of the road which passed by it towards the south-east. From the height where we stood we could trace this road along the valley for some distance; want of time, unfortunately, prevented me from exploring it further. I learnt from M. Baltazzi, however, that it led into the plain of Magnesia, and is still followed by the cattle-drivers, who consider it their shortest route. Mr. Dennis suggested that it is part of the road from the Ephesian territory to Phokaea, meant by Herodotos in II. 106; if so, we may expect to find in it Hittite sculptures similar to those in the pass of Karabel. The fact that the coast-road from Smyrna to Phokaea was not in existence in the time of Herodotos, when the marshes at the mouths of the Hermos had not yet been formed, lends great probability to this view.

The only traces of the Hellenic period that we discovered in our new acropolis were three tombs cut in the cliff, which showed that the place had been in later days the private property and burying-place of some wealthy family of Myrina. The tombs were all of rectangular shape. One of them was at the north-west end of the fortified crag, a second at the north-east end. Into this one of our muleteers managed to clamber, and reported the existence of a sarcophagus in it. As we had no ladder, however, we could not verify the report. The third tomb was at the south-east end, and contained an inner chamber with three rectangular *εὐναί*. Close to it I picked up a fragment of Hellenic pottery.

The character of the walls of this old fortress shows it to have been more ancient than the site I have named Old Myrina. Possibly it had been deserted long before the arrival of the Greeks, and its place taken by the more convenient acropolis further west. If, as I believe, the legend of the Amazons refers to that invasion of western Asia Minor by the Hittites, of which both the Egyptian inscriptions and the monuments of Sipylos and Karabel are witnesses, the tradition that Myrina was founded by an Amazon may indicate the Hittite conquest of the pass of Uzûn Hassanly and the fortress that guarded its exit, as well as the foundation of a city whose Hittite garrison should protect the road to the south. Among the cities of western Asia Minor, whose origin was ascribed to the Amazons —Smyrna, Ephesos, Myrina, and Kymê,—Kymê alone had a separate name of its own, since the Amazonian part of Ephesos was called Smyrna or Samorna.[1] Myrina stands to Smyrna as *μικρός* to *σμικρός*, and her tumulus, as we learn from *Il.* II. 814, was pointed out in the Troad. Samarius, it may be observed, is the name of a Hittite prince in the inscriptions of Ramses II.

The day after our discovery of the second pre-historic acropolis, Mr. Dennis and myself left M. Baltazzi's hospitable roof and rode to Menemen, passing on our way the sites of Larissa and Neonteikhos, both of which have been already fully described by Mr. Ramsay. I have only to add to his account that we

[1] Kymê is the Aeolic form of *κώμη*, 'village,' and must consequently have originally been the name of the unwalled village which grew up on the sea-coast after the destruction of the older Kymê by the Aeolic invaders. What this was called we do not know.

found a conduit cut through the rock at the foot of the steep crag on which Larissa stood, which does not seem to have been noticed by him. It is difficult to understand how Texier could have imagined Menemen to represent either Temnos or any other ancient city. It contains nothing earlier than the Byzantine epoch, the most noticeable object in the place being an old church which is now a deserted mosque.

After my return to Smyrna I made two excursions to Sipylos, one with Mr. Dennis, the other with Mr. Ramsay. On the first occasion we took a couple of ladders with us, which were carried to the spot where the figure of Niobê is carved out of the rock. By tying these together we managed to climb up to the cartouch on the right-hand side of the figure, in which Mr. Dennis had discovered the outlines of characters.[1] These turned out to be the well-known Hittite hieroglyphs of Carchemish; indeed, their close resemblance in form to those found at Carchemish makes it difficult to believe that they were executed by any other of the populations whom we now know to have used these characters than the inhabitants of Carchemish itself. The inscription simply records the name of a certain 'king of the country of...' The double ladder enabled us to examine the back of the head of 'Niobê,' a feat never before accomplished; and here we found a curious ornament like a lotus-bud or the uraeus serpent rising from the centre of it.[2] We also found that a single lock of hair is rudely sculptured in an oblique line across each of the shoulders, reminding one irresistibly of Egyptian art as well as of the sphinxes at Eyuk. For those, however, who have seen the figure of Nofretari, the wife of Ramses II., sitting sculptured in stone in the niche a little to the north of Abusimbel, it is impossible not to believe

[1] I much doubt whether the inscription mentioned by Stark can be the one discovered by Mr. Dennis, as Stark implies that it was *above* the head of Niobê.

[2] The ornament had this appearance :—



that the rude sculptor of the Niobê had an Egyptian model in his mind. Though the posture is that of the Asiatic goddess with the hands upon the breasts, the style of art is that of Egypt in the age of Ramses II., when Egyptians and Hittites were brought into close relations one with the other.

In my second excursion, in company with Mr. Ramsay, we started from Chobánisa, a Turkish village at the north-eastern corner of Mount Sipylos, and after riding some distance over rising ground in the direction of the mountain we came to the village of Kara Oghlanya. Here we found two Greek mortuary inscriptions, one in the church, the other on a column which served to support a fountain. A good half-mile further on we came across a third inscription at a fountain close to a collection of hovels, called Koja Kushely. I have given copies of all three in the *Academy*.[1] We heard of other inscriptions in a ravine, a little to the westward of Koja Kushely, which runs between the precipitous eastern cliff of Sipylos and the high ground on which both Koja Kushely and Kara Oghlanya stand. A Greek city seems to have existed here, from which the columns and inscriptions have been brought, and I think it likely that the old road from Magnesia to the plain of Nimphi will be found to have run through it. Mr. Ramsay has already explored the heights beyond.

A. H. Sayce.

[1] The inscription on the column is somewhat curious, as it runs thus :—

. . . . ΗΣΤΙΣ ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑ
[ΤΟΥΣ] ΥΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ
[ΑΝ]ΔΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΕ
[Κ]ΝΩΝ ΚΑΒΙΟΥ ΕΥΧ[ΑΡ]ΙΣ
ΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ.

Κάβιος seems meant for Gavius rather than Caius. Menekratês and his son Ménophilos are mentioned in the inscription found in the church. Both names occur in Smyrnian inscriptions. (For Menekratês see C. I. G. 3251, 3252, 3379 ; for Mênophilos, 3141, 3142, 3190, 3279.)

NOTICE OF A LAPITH-HEAD IN THE LOUVRE, FROM THE METOPES OF THE PARTHENON.

Upon passing through the corridor which leads to the *Salle des Bronzes* in the Louvre Museum, my attention was attracted by a marble head (Plate XXIII.) placed on one of the higher shelves of the case running along the wall, which contains a number of marble fragments of all descriptions. The more I looked at this head, the more did it seem to manifest the peculiarities of style and workmanship as well as the peculiar dimensions (just under life-size) of the metopes of the Parthenon. It was at least evident that none of the remains of ancient art, not as yet identified with the metopes of the Parthenon, that had come to my notice, was so fully possessed of the characteristics marking these metopes. The experience resulting from a careful and scientific comparative study and observation of a great number of identified ancient monuments has shown that the works of the various periods, schools, and artists, are each possessed of marked individual characteristics, and differ very noticeably from one another in conception, style, and workmanship. These differences, however, only become noticeable and useful as guides to the classification and identification of works of ancient art when numerous works, or reproductions from them, are placed side by side, and are subjected to trained observation in all respects similar to the observation which has been so long and profitably in use in the natural sciences. Based upon this experience, the recognition of the characteristics of this head lead me to believe that it could not belong to a period posterior to the time of Pheidias or previous to the Persian wars. In fact, it appeared to me highly probable that the head really belonged to one of the metopes.

In order further to establish this assumption it was necessary in the first place to examine the marble more closely on all sides, for it could but be seen imperfectly in its high position on the shelf; and in the second place, to ascertain where it was found, its *provenance*, if such was known. I may add that I felt convinced that if its origin was known it would be found to be Attica.

From M. Heron de Villefosse, who has ever tendered me the kindest assistance in my work at the Louvre Museum, I learned that the head had been recently acquired from a dealer at Vienna, who obtained it at the Piraeus, where it was said to have been found in the water.

When once the case was opened and I was able to examine the marble in my own hands at leisure, what before partook of the character of conjecture, was turned to a firm conviction that the head was that of a Lapith from one of the metopes of the Parthenon.

The head, of Pentelic marble, is 17 centimetres (6⅔ inches) in height by 12½ centimetres (almost 5 inches) in breadth from temple to temple. The general character of the beardless head presents a mixture of firmness and roundness which is given to the heads of the Lapiths opposing the bearded and brutal Centaurs, as a type of the cultured Greek opposing the brute force of the barbarians. The treatment of the outline and of the flesh is compact and firm without approaching the hardness of the heads of the Aegina marbles, the works of which school are spoken of by Quintilian as being *duriora et Tuscanicis proxima*.[1] In the treatment of the features we find that the lines are firmly marked in a cruder and more abrupt manner than we notice in the heads of the frieze of the Parthenon, or than we should assume in the heads of the pediments, judging from the comparatively softer modelling of the extant bodies of the pedimental figures. This difference between the execution of the metopes and of the other marbles decorating the Parthenon is not wholly to be referred to a prevalence in these metopes of the more severe and archaic treatment which points to the influence of the older Attic schools, of a Hegias or a Myron; but also to the fact that the smallness of the dimensions, coupled

[1] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 420.

with the height at which the metopes were placed above the eye of the spectator, made it necessary for the sculptor to emphasise and harden his lines.

The hair of the extant heads of Lapiths from the metopes, as well as that of the head under consideration, runs in a regular clear-cut outline over the forehead coming to a point in the centre. The texture of hair is not fully worked in grooves, but the whole is a comparatively smooth elevation; the ridges which produce the play of light and shade, and thus bring about the illusion of texture of hair, are but slightly marked. No doubt colour was here called upon to assist the modelling in the indication of the difference of texture. There can be no doubt that colour was used in the metopes and that traces of it were extant when the metopes were first studied.[1] The frontal bone projects strongly in this head as in the head of the metopes, yet presents no rise and fall, but runs in one continuous curve from temple to temple. The expression of emotion in the heads of the Lapiths, though more advanced than in the heads among the Aegina marbles, is far less pronounced than in the heads of the Centaurs from the same metopes, whose passion, anger, and pain are most manifest in the distorted features.[2]

The expression of emotion in the heads of the Lapiths is limited to parted or firmly closed lips and to the peculiar

[1] See Michaelis' *Der Parthenon*, p. 124, *seq.*

[2] It is most interesting to note that before the end of the fourth century there is no trace of a monument of a higher god or of a Greek with the indication of such passion as necessitates a contortion of features. With far greater freedom this is put into the faces of demons and monsters. It is in these heads that the Greek sculptors practised themselves in the expression of passionate emotion, and in the time in which the general feeling for the more dramatic forms of art was strongest the single representations of fauns and satyrs, river-gods, centaurs, giants, &c., are most frequent. We can almost trace, by means of extant monuments, how the definite artistic method of expressing violent emotion was transferred into the heads of human, heroic, and divine figures in later art from the forms which had previously and customarily been put into the heads of such demons. In the Centaur battles of the metopes of the Parthenon, nay, down to the recently discovered frieze from the altar at Pergamos representing the battle between the gods and the giants, the faces of the Greeks and the gods are free from the distortions of passion, while their adversaries manifest all the signs of pain and anger. So strong was the feeling for form with the Greeks, and so adverse were they to sacrificing harmonious lines in the representation of their own race and of their heroic and divine world.

indication of a frown. In the Louvre head, as in the others, this frown is indicated by means of straight simple lines worked into the brow and the forehead, probably by means of a file. In the Louvre head, as in the head of the fallen Lapith in Metope XXX. (Michaelis), a simple horizontal line of this kind is cut along the middle of the forehead. One shorter and deeper line, again straight and simple, runs down between the brows above the bridge of the nose; while, in the head of the Lapith in Metope XXX., who has fallen below his adversary and is receiving a fatal blow from him, a stronger expression of emotion is brought out, in that he has two such perpendicular ridges.

The eyelid in the Louvre head and in those of the metopes is worked smoothly with one continuous curve. The chin is round and firm, yet has some appearance of pointedness through the deep curve worked into the space between the under-lip and the chin. The under-lip is full and round, much more so than in the Aegina marbles. Still the mouth is hard and somewhat conventional in the perfectly symmetrical curve of the line between the lips.

The right side of the head is much corroded, while the left is quite smooth in its surface. As in all similar monuments, this shows that the right was the weather side and that the left was protected. It furthermore became evident that the left side was not meant to be seen; for it is not quite finished, the ear not being at all indicated on this side. In pedimental groups in which the inner side of the figures in the round facing the *tympanon* are also not to be seen, this inner side, in the Pheidiac period of art, is still quite finished. It is only from the limits of space in high relief that the inner side does not practically admit of complete finish. This head was thus evidently part of a high relief corresponding to that of the metopes of the Parthenon, in which the heads and limbs are generally completely undercut and stand out freely from the ground of the relief. This became still more evident from the fact that in the attempt at working away the marble from the ground of the relief there was difficulty in properly getting at the inner side; and thus strokes of the chisel are noticeable running from the beginning of the hair at the left temple towards the back of the head, and others running from the back of the head towards

the left or inner side. At one point where these strokes from either side tend to meet, at about the boundary line between the back and the left side of the head, there is a rough elevation, a ridge, running from the top of the head to the neck. Evidently this was the part of the head nearest the ground of the relief, and the sculptor who had to work round from either side experienced the greatest difficulty in cutting this part away cleanly.

As many of the Lapiths in the metopes have merely the heads broken away while the necks remain, I felt that it was highly probable that the very metope might be found in the British Museum to which this head belonged. When, accordingly, the authorities of the Louvre Museum generously sent me a cast taken from the original head, I took it to the British Museum, where, with the kind assistance of Mr. C. T. Newton, the most likely metope was soon found; and upon placing the cast upon the fractured neck, they fitted completely, each fractured projection of the one fitting into the depression of the other. The above-mentioned unfinished ridge proved to be the part nearest the ground of the relief.

Plate XXIII. is taken from the metope (VII. in Michaelis) in the British Museum upon which the cast of the Louvre head has been placed, as well as a cast of the head of a Centaur at Athens, which had previously been identified as belonging to this metope.[1]

The metope is thus one of the most complete, as it decidedly is, in many ways, the finest.[2] Its excellence consists chiefly in the way in which the dramatic situation is represented and the tension of the supreme moment is brought out. The Lapith has seized the Centaur by the throat with his left hand, while he is drawing back the right hand to give the fatal blow with the sword. The impulse of the advancing Lapith causes the Centaur to rear in the attempt to free his throat with his left hand from the firm grasp of his enemy. The attitude of forward impulse on the part of the Lapith is most perfectly given, while the head looking up at the rearing Centaur adds much to the

[1] There is a slight error in Michaelis, p. 141, where this fragment R is assigned to Metope VIII.

[2] 'Even in its present mutilated state, this is, perhaps, the finest of all the metopes in the Museum.'—*A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon, &c.*, p. 36.

expression of this action. It is interesting to compare a photograph of the metope,[1] as it was before the head was added, with the present plate. We can then realise how vitally the loss of any one part impairs the appearance of the work of a great artist, as we must also realise that a perfect work of art depends upon the organic treatment of the artist's crude material, the harmony and unity of all the parts of a work. There hardly exists any more bold and superb action than that of the Centaur rearing back in a last effort. The forelegs and hoofs do not remind one of hands, and still they seem more expressive and fuller of designed purpose than the hoofs of a horse, as if the human body above the animal had modified their power and purpose while retaining their shape.

Finally, dramatic unity is given to this composition through the clear localisation of a central point of interest. This is not conventionally placed in the actual centre of the square metope, but is placed at the right upper corner at the neck of the Centaur. It is to this point (also the moral centre of importance and interest) that all the movements of the figures and all the lines of the composition tend. It is also, physically, the point of balance to the figures as represented. For if we were to conceive this point suddenly to give way, both the Centaur and Lapith would fall forward. It is the meeting of forces at this point that keeps both figures in the position in which the artist has represented them, as it is the grip upon the Centaur's throat that gives the Lapith the advantage in the struggle and is the efficient cause of the other's speedy destruction.

All this life and action displayed with such freedom in this relief have been, we must not forget, composed within the limits of the prescribed square space of a metope. It is here that the power of a great artist like Pheidias manifests itself, in that he adapts himself to the physical conditions of the work to be produced and makes us forget difficulties with which he had to struggle, through the life which he puts into his figures and scenes while adapting the form to the material at his disposal.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

[1] Compare also Lawrence, *Elgin Marbles*, &c., Pl. XVII., and Michaelis, Pl. III., Met. VII.

MARBLE HEAD OF A HORSE [Pl. XXIV.]

The horse's head, two photographs of which appear on Pl. XXIV., was procured in the neighbourhood of Tarentum and presented to the British Museum by J. Reddie Anderson, Esq.

This presentation is a new and pleasing indication of the interest felt by private collectors in the British Museum, and of the increasing feeling that only in public collections can ancient monuments be protected from risk; a thesis which I have already had occasion in my Introduction to *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* to maintain and to enforce by many sad instances.

I comply with the request of the Editors of this Journal in accompanying the photographs with a few remarks.[1]

According to a note by Professor Percy Gardner, the quality of the marble is not very fine. The length of the head, from end of mane over forehead to lip, is 0·46 m., the height from bottom of cheek-bone to top of head 0·34 m. The lower lip is wanting, the ears have been broken. The bridle, as usual, was added in bronze; traces of its presence remain in a round hole (0·07 m. in diameter) on both sides behind the root of the ear, and in another hole on the left cheek where it joins the neck, as well as in the holes for the bit, which, however, are not at the back of the mouth as usual, but clearly below it.

At first sight a resemblance to the horses' heads of the Parthenon is as striking, as are certain differences. We find the same simple and grand treatment of the nether jaw and the

[1] [The special thanks of the Editors are due to Prof. Michaelis for his compliance with their wish, though he was able to judge of the head only from photographs, not, as he would of course have wished, from actual inspection. —Ed. *J.H.S.*]

masseter-muscle covering it, which is so characteristic a feature in all the horses' heads in the pediment and the frieze of the Parthenon, as well as generally in Attic sculptures of the fifth century.[1] The outlines of the muscle, however, are not given with exactly the same definite sharpness as in Attic examples. We observe at once in our head a closer imitation of real life, in opposition to that severer observation of stylistic rules which at the epoch of Pheidias seems to have required such a sharply defined circumscription of every single part. A very peculiar feature of the Tarentine head is that strong protuberance, which in the photographs appears below the eye. It marks the foremost extremity of a bony ridge, to which are attached both the large masseter and the zygomatic muscle which extends towards the mouth. The same feature may also be observed in the horses' heads from the Parthenon, but there it forms only a prominent part in the outline of the masseter, while in the new head it bulges considerably from the surface of the muscle. Are we to consider this only a certain exaggeration in rendering a characteristic part? Or, is the peculiarity imitated from an individual horse? Or, again, was this prominence intended to serve as a point of support for some cup-shaped ornament of bronze belonging to the bridle, like that which is to be seen on the horse's head from the Mausoleum?[2]

A second important point in the appearance of a horse's head is the shape of the eye. B. R. Haydon, in his suggestive comparison of the head of the horse of Selene from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon with the head of one of those bronze horses which stand over the entrance of St. Mark's at Venice,[3]

[1] Comp. the large relief of the Villa Albani (Zoega, *Bassiril. di Roma*, i. Pl. 51), the fragment of an Attic sepulchral relief in the Museum at Berlin (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1863, Pl. 169), the monument of Dexileos (*Rev. Archéol.*, 1863, Pl. 15), a fragment in the Vatican Museum (*Mus. Chiaramonti*, ii. Pl. 45), etc.

[2] Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, ii. Pl. 11. These μικρὰ ἀσπιδίσκια were called φάλαρα; see *schol. Hom. Il.* Π. 105. Jahn, *Die Lauersforter Phalerae*, 1860, p. 2.

[3] *Comparaison entre la tête d'un des chevaux de Venise et la tête du cheval d'Elgin du Parthenon*, 1818. (First printed in the *Annals of the Fine Arts.*) The excellent etching of the two heads is by Thomas Landseer. Similar criticisms are to be found in Lawrence's *Elgin Marbles*. I am sorry not to have been able to compare casts or good engravings of these heads as well as of the famous horses' heads of bronze preserved in the Museums of Florence (*Galeria di Firenze*, iv. Pl. 84, 85) and Naples (*Mus. Borbon.*, iii.

regards as especially characteristic the fact that the pupil of the eye of the former is very prominent, so as to enable him to look around in every direction and to protect himself against danger, from whatever direction it may come. In accordance with the general tendency of the art of Pheidias, to lay stress on the main features, to the disadvantage of other less essential points, the eyes of the Parthenon horses show that prominence in a very high degree, while on the contrary the eyes of the Venetian bronze horse, which lie deep in their holes, are, like human eyes, shadowed from above by rather strongly-marked brows. The Tarentine head still preserves the large open eyes, but the excessive prominence of the eyeballs, which gives the horses of the Parthenon an expression of stirred excitement, is lessened to a degree which corresponds better with the common appearance of a horse. On the other hand, there is nothing of the tendency to lend the horse's eye a kind of sentiment which is not its own but only transferred to it from the human eye.

The mane is cut short, but is not so stiff as is usual with Attic horses, falling more freely. The uppermost part falls over the forehead in two separate locks, as it does in several slabs of the frieze of the Parthenon.

Greater is the difference in the fore-part of the head. It is longer, in proportion to the rest, than is the case in horses of the school of Pheidias; one feels disposed to think that the whole horse was of more slender proportions and more long-legged. The outline of the profile is less straight, the extremity of the bone of the nose forming a slight convexity from which the outline falls down to the nostrils, somewhat as in an ass's head. In the head of the horse of Selene this convexity is less perceptible; the main line of the profile is nearly straight, and the nostrils being more strongly inflated serve to increase this appearance, counterbalancing as it were the forehead. Finally, the wrinkles which surround the mouth and the nostrils are rendered with greater care and more detail in the new head than in those from the Parthenon. In the latter the artist has confined himself to

Pl. 10, Guhl, *Pferde-Bildung*, p. 52, Gargiulo, *Raccolta*); but most of all it would be worth while to compare the excellent bronze horse found in Trastevere in 1849, which is one of the chief ornaments of the Capitoline Museum but has never been published. Cf. the remarks on different ancient horses in Ruhl, *Ueber die Auffassung der Natur in der Pferde-Bildung antiker Plastik*, 1846, p. 46 *seq.*

marking those wrinkles which surround the mouth itself, in consequence of the bit pressing on the back of the mouth; in the Tarentine head the nostrils too are encircled by similar furrows, and in addition a whole system of wrinkles extends from the back of the mouth upwards to the ridge of the nose, giving evidence of the action of the different muscles of the nose.

The preceding attempt to analyse the most striking features of the new head cannot do full justice to the subject, as I have not had an opportunity of examining either the original or a cast of it, but was obliged to judge from photographs only. Nevertheless, I hope that these few observations will prove sufficient to fix the place which the new head occupies in relation to the horses' heads of the great period of Attic art. A certain abstractness, which dwells almost exclusively on the essential elements of the organism and contents itself with merely indicating all secondary features, has given place to a closer imitation of nature, which copies with equal interest essential and subordinate parts, and does not even shrink from rendering the anomalies of individuals. That wonderful combination of idealism and realism which is so conspicuous in the head of Selene's horse, and which caused Goethe to look on it as an ἰδέα ἵππου embodied (*verkörpert*), has given way to a faithful and vivid representation of a real horse; the attempt at a generic rendering has been tempered, the pathetic character and the impetuosity of those divine horses have been changed into a tame calmness which, perhaps, may not exclusively be caused by the more quiet movement of this single horse of which our head is a fragment, but may also be ascribed to a modification of general artistic feeling which characterised the later epoch to which the sculpture belongs.

On the other hand, the gulf which divides our head from those of the Venetian bronze horses, is certainly considerably wider than that which exists between it and the creations of the school of Pheidias. But the old opinion which ascribed those bronze horses to Lysippos having been nowadays generally given up, this comparison cannot help us to arrive at an exact *terminus ante quem* for our head. Compared, however, with the more vulgar character and the less definite forms of horses which belong unquestionably to Roman art, like those of Marcus

Aurelius on the Capitol and of the two Balbi at Naples, the Tarentine head proves to be essentially different, and decidedly Greek. If this be acknowledged, especially since the visible tendency towards realism and towards giving the subject the appearance not of a horse in general but of a certain individual horse, points to the influence of Lysippian art, we may feel justified in ascribing the monument to which our fragment originally belonged to the end of the fourth or to the third century before Christ, and this view is confirmed by the consideration of historical probabilities. After the surrender of Tarentum into the hands of the Romans, in B.C. 272, Roman political influence was predominant in the city, but still the Tarentines kept at least a nominal independence, and retained their Greek laws and customs; but after the sack of the city by the army of Fabius Maximus, in B.C. 209, it soon fell into a state of great decay, and it is at least not very likely that a monument like that in question should have originated at such a period.

Perhaps we might venture to determine the period of our head more closely still by means of comparison with the coins of Tarentum, on which, as is well known, the horse is a frequent type. As I am so unfortunate as not to have access either to originals or casts, and engravings are seldom faithful enough to furnish trustworthy data for such stylistic inquiries, I must leave the decision of this point to others who are more favourably situated, such as the officers of the coin room in the British Museum, who have already undertaken so many investigations of the kind. At the British Museum too, it may be possible to determine the character of the monument to which the horse-head belonged; whether we have to do with a single horse, an equestrian statue, or a group comprising several horses, a biga or quadriga. In the latter case we may expect not an even working of both sides, but a more careful working of the side turned outwards. Now, from a somewhat defective photograph sent to me representing the head in full face, I seem to discern a marked inequality between the two sides of the head; the right side seems decidedly concave—quite unnaturally so. Unless the photograph is deceptive, this fact seems in favour of my later alternative, that the head belonged to the team of a chariot. In connexion with this, it may be added that on the gold coins

of Tarentum representations of a biga driven by Castor or Taras are not rare;[1] though of course we cannot venture hence to conclude that our head belonged to a sculptural monument of the same description.

STRASSBURG. AD. MICHAELIS.

[Professor Michaelis' conjecture is thoroughly justified. The right side of the horse's head is of inferior and careless work, proving that it was intended to be looked at as represented in our plate, and not from the other side. The testimony of the Tarentine coinage, above alluded to, seems to confirm Prof. Michaelis' determination of date; but is in favour rather of the earlier than the later limit, the fourth rather than the third century B.C. For we find on coins which may reasonably be given to about the year 300 an exaggeration in rendering the details of horses' musculature, a profusion of detail which we might expect to find in still greater development in works of contemporary sculpture, but which we do not remark in the Museum head. At a period later, but still before the Roman final conquest, a reaction sets in, and all representations, including those of horses, are of poor and clumsy work. It would hence seem likely that the subject of this paper dates from the latter part of the fourth century, so far as we can judge from numismatic evidence.—P. GARDNER.]

[1] *Cat. Gr. Coins in Brit. Mus.: Italy*, pp. 162, 163. Carelli, *Num. Ital. Vet.* Pl. civ. 25-28.

HERAKLES EPITRAPEZIOS. [Pl. XXV.]

While excavating in the ruins of the palace of Sennacherib at Koujounjik in 1880 Mr. Rassam found a small figure of Herakles sculptured in calcareous stone, and inscribed on the front of the plinth with a dedication by a certain Sarapiodoros (Σαραπιόδωρος Ἀρτεμιδώρου—κατ' εὐχήν), and on one side of the plinth with the name of the artist Diogenes (Διογένης ἐποίει). The letters are painted red. The figure is now in the British Museum. Its height is 1 ft. 9 in.

A Greek sculptor of the name of Diogenes is known only, so far as I am aware, in the one instance cited by Pliny,[1] in speaking of the sculptural decorations of the Pantheon of Agrippa in Rome, among which he mentions Caryatides 'in columnis,' whatever that may mean.[2] These Caryatides by Diogenes the Athenian were much admired. But if Brunn is right, as he appears to be in identifying the statue of this kind in the Vatican Museum as a survivor from the Pantheon,[3] he is evidently right also in concluding that Diogenes had merely made very careful copies from the Caryatides of the Erechtheum. Even a careful copyist was perhaps rare to find in the time of Agrippa. Our Diogenes was no doubt also a copyist, but apparently not a very careful one. For this among other reasons he cannot well be identified with his Athenian namesake. If our Diogenes had been an Athenian he would have said so on the plinth unless he had sculptured his Herakles in Athens where there would have been no occasion to say it. But that is unlikely because calcareous stone of this description was not a material which Athenian sculptors found at hand, and certainly

[1] *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 38.

[2] It evidently meant an unusual thing to Stark in the *Arch. Zeitung*, 1866, p. 249.

[3] *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 548 and p. 568.

was not a material which they would have brought from a distance. If, however, it be argued that our Diogenes may have been nevertheless an Athenian, and may have been identical with the sculptor employed in Rome by Agrippa, it must at least be admitted that he had thrown aside much of his carefulness when at work on the Herakles. The character of the inscription would probably suit the time of Agrippa. But it may also be considerably later.

The idea of 'Herakles resting from his labours' was peculiarly attractive to royal admirers of Greek art in the period which followed the death of Alexander the Great and in countries which he had conquered.[1] Alexander himself is said to have carried with him, to adorn his dinner-table, a small bronze figure of Herakles in this attitude, which from this circumstance was known as Herakles Epitrapezios. After the death of Alexander this figure is said to have passed from the possession of one great general to another ending with Nonius Vindex, in whose hands it was when Martial sang its praises.[2] According to tradition it was the work of Lysippos.

The Herakles of Diogenes corresponds so well with the descriptions of Martial and Statius that we may safely restore his now missing right hand as having held out a drinking-cup or *skyphos*, not the apples of the Hesperides as in the restoration of a similar figure of Herakles in the British Museum.[3] It has besides been copied from an original in bronze. The veins of his legs, and particularly the nipples on his breast, are rendered precisely as if in bronze, while again the whole face is cut with a clearness and sharpness which would not be expected in a marble original. Nor would it even be expected in a bronze original of large size. The Herakles Epitrapezios ascribed to Lysippos was of bronze and was about one foot in height. It would thus have furnished just the original which we require.[4]

[1] See Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum, *Seleucidae*, Pl. 5, Nos. 5, 6, for examples of what is a not uncommon type on the coins.

[2] ix. 44: see also Statius, *Silv.* iv. 6.

[3] The *skyphos* was the drinking-cup of Herakles. See Athenaeus, xi. 99. The small marble figure of Herakles in the British Museum, here referred to, is engraved in the Museum Marbles, x. Pl. 41, Fig. 3: cf. *Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, Pt. i. No. 142.

[4] Professor Michaelis, in the *Bullet. dell' Inst. Arch.* 1860, p. 124, identifies the figure of Herakles on a vase in Gerhard's *Trinkschalen* (1848), Pl. 8, as a copy of the figure by Lysippos.

The figure of Diogenes is, as we have said, 1 ft. 9 in. high, and it may here be remarked that the marble Herakles of the same type, just referred to as being in the British Museum, is also of diminutive size. Probably both were intended to be placed on tables. At all events the Herakles of Diogenes has a thin plinth with no sign of having been fixed to a pedestal. It seems rather to have merely rested by its weight on a table, or something of that nature.

But the Herakles of Diogenes, though apparently a copy of the bronze figure described by Martial and Statius, is not necessarily the copy of a work by Lysippos. The tradition which these writers follow of its various possessors is too romantic, and when once they had traced the bronze back to Alexander it of course must be set down to Lysippos. There are no other ancient records of it except such as may be implied in the epithet of 'Epitrapezios,' probably from a Greek epigram. Besides, the figure of Diogenes cannot be said to reflect the style of Lysippos, unless perhaps we regard the rendering of the face as an equivalent of the *argutiae operum custoditae in minumis quoque rebus* spoken of by Pliny.[1] Lysippos introduced for the human figure a new canon of proportions in which the limbs were considerably lengthened as compared with previous canons where it was the body that was long and powerful. His proportions and general style cannot, I think, be better seen than in the larger of the two bronze statuettes of Zeus from Paramythia, in the British Museum.[2] At all events the figure of Diogenes is short in the legs, and preponderatingly massive in the body, a circumstance which disposes of it as a direct copy from Lysippos.

If then we are to conclude that the Herakles of Diogenes corresponds in type with the Herakles Epitrapezios of Martial and Statius, but that it is nevertheless not a copy of a work by Lysippos, it would follow that these writers had made use of the

But on the vase Herakles is holding not far from his mouth a *kantharos* (not a *skyphos*) which a satyr has brought him; he is turned round with his body to the side, and rests his club on his left thigh. In this respect it corresponds with several coins. Yet I do not think it is so near the original of Lysippos as is our figure by Diogenes.

[1] *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 65.

[2] *Specimens of Ant. Sculpt.* i. Pl. 32. Though usually called Jupiter this figure seems to me more like Poseidon, and might be restored with his right hand resting on a trident and in his left a dolphin.

name of the Greek artist on imperfect evidence.[1] That may seem to be going too far. On the other hand, if we are to trust always the statements of late writers, there is scarcely a great artist of antiquity whom we are not obliged to imagine as frittering away his time in chasing drinking-cups and such like trifles. From a modern or even a Roman point of view, Alexander could be supposed to have required Lysippos to make a statuette for his dinner-table. But I cannot think that he had even once in reality so little respect for the man whom otherwise he seems to have justly admired.

Lysippos, we know from various sources,[2] was the sculptor of a seated figure of Herakles of colossal size in Tarentum, whence it was carried off to Rome, and perhaps afterwards to Constantinople. But the attitude was quite different from that of the figure of Diogenes, or of the bronze statuette of Nonius Vindex.

A. S. Murray.

[1] Stephani, *Der Ausruhende Herakles* (*Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp.* St. Petersburg, 1855), p. 403, concludes that there is no proof and no great probability of this figure having been made by Lysippos.

[2] See Overbeck's *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 1468–1472.

ATHENE IN THE WEST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

FEW subjects have afforded more opportunities for archaeological controversy than the western pediment of the Parthenon; and of this possibly the most uncertain, as well as the most important part is the centre group, of whose meaning very many and very different explanations have been given. This controversy received a fresh start from the discovery, in 1872, of a vase which has represented upon it, partly in relief, partly in painting, a design which evidently bears a more or less close relation to the pediment itself. The vase, a hydria, was found in a grave at Kertsch, and it was published, with a long and learned discussion of its bearing and importance, by M. Stephani.[1] It will perhaps be as well here to give a brief account of its composition. In the centre is an olive-tree, on the left of which is Athene, on the right, Poseidon. Amidst the branches of the tree is Nike, who floats towards Athene, so indicating the issue of the contest, and round its trunk is coiled a snake, which raises its head as if against Poseidon. This god stands half advanced upon his right foot. In his right hand he raises the trident, the points of which are just above the head of the snake; with his left he holds the bridle of a horse, which stands beside him. Between his legs is one dolphin, and another is a little beyond his left foot. Athene on her side has raised her spear, but its point, like that of Poseidon's trident, is directed downwards. On her left arm is her shield, the outer edge of which is close to the trunk of the tree. Behind her advances Dionysus, accompanied by his panther; he stretches out his thyrsus in front of her, towards the olive-tree. Behind him, on a higher

[1] *Compte Rendu*, 1872-3, pp. 5-142. Our woodcut is from the Plate which accompanies this article.



level, is a female figure, nude to the waist, who is half reclining upon the ground. On the right, behind Poseidon and his horse, is a female figure, in long flowing drapery, flying from the centre of the composition. Beyond her there is a rock, upon which is seated a bearded man of kingly appearance with a long sceptre resting against his shoulder; he has his back to the centre group, towards which, however, he turns round his head. Above him is a small temple, on a higher level. Of these figures only those which form part of the central group are represented in relief as well as in colour. In the case of the others only small portions, such as the thyrsus or the sceptre, and especially gold bosses or ornaments, are raised, the rest of these figures being painted as on ordinary Greek vases.

Thus it will be seen that we have evidently at least a reminiscence of the grouping of the figures on the western pediment of the Parthenon; it remains to be considered how far, and with what results, we may make use of this vase in any attempt to restore the lost portions of that pediment. This has already been done by many of the most eminent archaeologists, but with results that can hardly, at present, be considered altogether satisfactory. The following is a brief account of the views of those who have taken the most prominent parts in the controversy.

M. Stephani,[1] the first publisher of the vase, sees in it a representation of the moment when both the divine antagonists, by a stroke of their respective weapons, are about to bring forth their signs; those signs, the horse and the olive-tree, are introduced into the picture by a slight infringement of the unity of time, which is, however, absolutely necessary for the comprehension of the whole design. Dionysus supports Athene as the patron of arboriculture. The kingly man seated on a rock is Cecrops, who acts as judge in the contest; the temple is the Erectheum. In the flying female figure close to Poseidon we may recognise Amphitrite; the maiden beyond Dionysus is either Eris or an Athenian arbitress.

So much for the interpretation of the vase itself; next M. Stephani considers its relation to the western pediment. The subordinate figures on the vase are, as he says, doubtless derived

[1] *Compte Rendu, l.c.*

from it, though some are altered, others inserted or omitted; but, when he comes to the central group, M. Stephani is not content with saying that the vase is copied from the pediment; he tries to copy the pediment from the vase, in spite of Carrey's sketches, which give a totally different effect; and few indeed can be satisfied with this, especially when they have seen his attempted restoration. However, M. Stephani has found no followers in so extreme a proceeding, though many have perhaps followed him too far in this direction.

M. de Witte,[1] who comes next in point of time, supports, on the whole, M. Stephani's arguments.

The next name of importance is that of Prof. Aug. Petersen,[2] who propounds a slightly different view. He maintains that M. Stephani's explanation, according to which the two deities are still preparing for their stroke while its results are already visible, is absurd, and makes their violent action ridiculous. He accordingly gives the following suggestion: The two antagonists have already done their work, but their weapons are raised again in reaction from the blow. Such, at least, was the motive of the group on the pediment; on the vase copied from it, according to his view, the fine distinction between preparation for a blow and reaction from it is lost. But this is surely attributing to the copyist a mechanical and slavish imitation of outward detail, and a blindness to the spirit of his original, which are the very last qualities to be looked for in a Greek artist. Prof. Petersen makes against the painter of the vase another charge also, which seems somewhat inconsistent with his previous one; this artist has, he says, contaminated the Attic legend, according to which the salt-spring is Poseidon's sign, with the Thessalian, which asserts that Poseidon produced the horse upon this occasion. He also refuses to accept M. Stephani's identification of the subordinate figures: the seated man should be Zeus; the reclining maiden, Aphrodite.

Prof. Brunn[3] will not in any degree accept either of these two schemes of interpretation. The action of the two deities, as here depicted, cannot, he says, have anything whatever to do with the production of those objects which are already present

[1] *Monuments grecs*, 1875, No. 4. p. 13.

[2] *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, p. 115.

[3] *Sitzungsber d. baier. Akad.* 1876, i. p. 477.

in the representation. We must therefore assign that action to a moment considerably later. By the raised trident of Poseidon is typified his attempt to overflow the Thriasian plain in revenge for his defeat; the two dolphins represent the open sea, not a mere spring, in which there would be no room for such animals. Athene stands back; Dionysus advances in front of her to defend the neighbourhood of his Eleusis. As to the other figures, Prof. Brunn recognises Zeus in the seated man; the maiden is the nymph of the place. The small temple may be explained as a shrine erected in honour of the god's reconciliation (*Sühnkapelle*), similar to that which was, under similar circumstances, erected to Poseidon Proklystios at Argos. The olive typifies Attica generally, and is not restricted to the Acropolis, for the scene is laid in the Thriasian plain.

The negative part of these arguments is fully accepted by Prof. Robert.[1] But he asserts that Brunn's explanation violates the unity of place as much as those of Stephani and Petersen violate the unity of time. He gives instances to prove that dolphins could be used to typify even a small spring of salt water; and he questions the intimate connexion assumed by Brunn between Dionysus and Eleusis. Thus he utterly rejects all previous interpretations. But many will be disposed to question whether the one he has to substitute is much better. The scene, he says, must be on the Acropolis, for the olive-tree cannot typify any other place, but is clearly that planted by Athene. Poseidon's horse is not his sign at all; he has ridden upon it and just dismounted; it is, in fact, merely a substitute for his chariot, which appears in the pediment itself. The salt-spring, his sign, and the olive, that of Athene, are not in any sense wonders or portents; far less is any claim to the land based upon their production; they are merely tokens of possession (*σύμβολα, μαρτύρια: Wahrzeichen*). The other version, for which the oldest authority is Ovid, is probably not an old Attic myth at all. The facts of the case, according to Prof. Robert, are these: Poseidon had taken possession of the land, and had, in token of so doing, produced the salt-spring; then came Athene, claimed the land, and planted the olive as her token. Poseidon enraged at this intrusion, attacks the token of his

[1] *Hermes*, 1881, p. 60.

rival, and wishes to root it up with his trident. But the Erichthonios snake coils around the stem of the tree to protect it, and raises its head against Poseidon. Athene has started back from the advance of Poseidon, but raises her spear to be ready for defence. Dionysus advances to help her, in his capacity of δενδρίτης. Of the other figures, the seated man is Cecrops, who is, however, present as spectator, not as judge, for here we have a contest, not a decision: the maiden is Pandrosos. The small temple is the palace of Cecrops, afterwards dedicated to Athene and Erechtheus as the Erechtheium.

So much for the vase. Prof. Robert then proceeds to the pediment itself, and endeavours to discover the same motive in it. He very ingeniously avails himself of a commentary of Homer's, which had previously been quoted by Mr. Watkiss Lloyd,[1] as descriptive of Poseidon's attitude:

'ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη.'

This line is, according to his view, not only metaphorically but literally applicable to the figure in the pediment: the god starts back as the snake rears itself against him. Athene retreats before Poseidon's advance, as on the vase, though here there is no Dionysus to support her. Prof. Robert traces out his theory in the subordinate figures: in the figures on the left, of Athene's party, he sees astonishment and terror, especially in the kneeling female figure, a daughter of Cecrops, who clings passionately to her father for protection. Poseidon's followers on the right are more quiet, because they have no fear of Poseidon's wrath, or because they are divine personages. Apparently they do not dread the snake, since they are out of its reach.

There are probably few who will accept an interpretation such as this of the principal group of the west pediment of the Parthenon, intended as it must be for the glorification of the virgin goddess. Is it possible that in such a group she should be represented as retreating, and leaving her sacred olive-tree to be defended by a snake? Or, if we think of Poseidon as starting back at the sight of a snake, do we thus preserve his dignity, of which Prof. Robert is so jealous that he will not admit into the pediment a representation of his defeat? But,

[1] *Class. Museum*, Jan. 1848.

to leave the pediment for the present, and return to the vase, it will be better, after so different explanations of the subject of the latter have been offered by so high authorities, to allow its interpretation to remain uncertain. It remains to be considered how close is the relation of the vase to the Parthenon pediment, and how far we may safely use it for the restoration of the central figures of that composition.

When a new element in a controversy, such as this vase, is first discovered, there is always a tendency at first to overrate its importance. Few can deny this who have seen M. Stephani's attempt to restore, or rather to copy, the pediment from the vase; but perhaps M. Stephani is not the only one who has erred in this direction. Were the vase only one of many still extant which reproduced the same subject, the discrepancies between these would probably show us how little we could rely on one of them as an accurate copy of their original. Thus, even if immediately copied from the Parthenon pediment, we must not regard it as we should a photographic reproduction of that pediment. There are, too, other reproductions of the same subject extant; notably, certain coins and gems mentioned by M. Stephani, and a late relief from Smyrna, published by Prof. Robert;[1] in this last, Poseidon is represented resting one foot on a rock, Athene stands opposite, and Nike is between the two on a table. These show how little we can rely on one single reproduction, even if it be a direct copy. There are, however, so many similarities between some of the coins and the vase that it seems they must be derived from a common original. But was that original, immediately, the Parthenon pediment? From what we know of that pediment, by Carrey's sketches and otherwise, it certainly seems most natural to suppose that it was not so. If this be the case, can the original from which they were derived be discovered? This is a question which it is by no means hard to answer.

Pausanias,[2] in his description of the statues upon the Acropolis, mentions two groups—one of Athene springing from the head of Zeus; one of Athene bringing to light the olive, and Poseidon the salt-spring. These are obviously derived from the two pediments of the Parthenon, though if, as is not impossible, they were

[1] *Mittheil. d. deutsch. Inst. zu Athen.* 1882.

[2] I. xxiv. 2, 3.

tolerably early in date, we must not look to find in them reproductions of those groups either in motive or in attitude. Of the latter of these two the base, in marble of Hymettus,[1] has been discovered; on this base is the stump of an olive-tree, and near it a colossal foot, obviously that of Poseidon. The other fragments of an olive-tree which have been discovered are also, according to M. Beulé,[2] of Hymettus marble, and therefore belong to this group; they cannot belong to the pediment, which is entirely of Pentelic marble; hence no argument can be based upon them as to the existence of an olive-tree in the middle of the pedimental group. But even if we must not accept M. Beulé's judgment on this point, in any case it is certain that this group of Athene and Poseidon, whether now extant or not, did once exist on the Acropolis. And if so, these groups standing free are far more likely to have been copied by an artist than those on the pediments. This, then, was probably the model of the vase-painter for his central group;[3] he would naturally add other figures to fill the empty space on the sides of the vase; and those which he has inserted do not bear a close enough resemblance to the pediment to justify the assumption that either they or the central group were copied from it. If this conjecture be correct, then in this vase, and in the coins and gems resembling it quoted by M. Stephani, we have merely more or less close reproductions of a free group upon the Acropolis, which was itself probably identical in subject, though not in treatment, with the central group of the western pediment of the Parthenon. They will therefore be allowed very little weight in any attempt to restore that group.

Is it then the case that no ancient reproductions of the western pedimental group have survived to our time, and that we have no evidence to go upon but our small fragments and the sketches of Carrey? Perhaps we may recognise one such reproduction in the coin which is here represented. A different interpretation has usually been put upon it. In Müller-Wieseler's *Denkmäler*,[4] the goddess is described as Athene λαοσσόος or ἀγελείη;

[1] Michaelis (*Der Parth.* 195) does not accept Beulé's judgment; the marble, he says, is Pentelic, as is also that of the olive-tree fragment.

[2] *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, pp. 196, 244.

[3] M. Beulé (*Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 393) derives the two-figure coins from this free group.

[4] Vol. ii., 3rd ed., No. 216, *b*, p. 153, Taf. xx.

she 'rushes into the fight and calls on her people to follow.' But this interpretation, especially considering the presence of the olive-tree, is probably incorrect. The figure shows a remarkable similarity in attitude and action, in drapery, and even in style, so far as can be recognised in so small an object, with the Athene in Carrey's sketch of the western pediment. There is, moreover, a certain simplicity



about it that is altogether lacking in the other types, which are derived from the independent group. M. Stephani, however, only refers to the coins which have both deities, and does not quote this one. Prof. Robert[1] mentions it with these words: 'These coins show the representation cut short, without Poseidon. Athene turns to flight, but points backwards to the olive-tree, as if to appeal to her good right.' Here, unsatisfactory as this description may be, he does at least derive the figure from the Parthenon pediment. Friederichs had previously suggested, but rejected, this origin for a relief[2] of a similar kind, in which, however, the resemblance to Carrey's sketch is not nearly so striking as in this coin. That the figure faces in the opposite direction from that of its original is of course unimportant; indeed, the Poseidon and Athene group is often reversed on coins. The only important respect in which this Athene differs from Carrey's, and from the extant torso, is that her left arm, holding the spear and shield, is lowered; while the corresponding right arm of both the other two must have been raised. But this is a change which the artist of the coin may easily have made in order to comply with the necessities of the limited and circular space at his disposal, which is notoriously a very frequent proceeding with the designers of coins and gems

[1] *Hermes*, 1881, p. 69.

[2] The Athene and Marsyas relief referred to below, *Bausteine*, 401.

copied from well-known works of art. The right arm on the coin is in a position which may perfectly well have been taken by the left arm of the pedimental figure.

But is it likely that this pedimental figure would be copied by a coin-artist? Perhaps not in earlier times; and it is, indeed, improbable that figures would be copied from the pediment in the third century before our era, to which period M. Stephani would assign his vase. But in Roman times, to which our coin must be attributed, it was otherwise. We find on pieces of this class quite a gallery of reproductions of great works of art, such as the Zeus of Olympia and the Aphrodite of Cnidus. The Athenian die-cutters were especially given to this kind of reproduction. To them, an Athene after the design of Phidias might well seem a fit subject to be copied, though in ordinary cases the reproduction of single figures from a pediment would seem inappropriate.

Assuming, then, that in this coin we have a fairly close reproduction of the Athene of the pediment (and in a coin of imperial times we may look for much closer copying than on a vase of the third century), let us consider what material we have for the restoration of the central group, its arrangement and motive. Of M. Stephani's vase little account need be taken, if it be rightly regarded as a copy of the group on the Acropolis mentioned by Pausanias. And even if that hypothesis be unfounded, a reproduction which so totally alters the position and action of Poseidon cannot be regarded as an indisputable authority for those of his antagonist, or for other figures or accessories in the composition. First, then, as regards the olive-tree, the question whether it was represented in the middle of the western pediment or not may be regarded as still undecided. Its presence on the coin makes it appear probable that such was the case; and Prof. Michaelis, in his conjectural restoration,[1] has successfully surmounted the difficulty of finding room for it. Perhaps also the two antagonists were turned so as to face one another rather more fully than they do in Carrey's sketch; they would thus leave more room, not only for the olive-tree, but for their own arms, which are otherwise rather difficult to fit in. Prof.

[1] *Der Parthenon*, Hilfstafel, p. 182; he refers the design to Overbeck, *Gesch.* 1², 276; and *Ber. der Sächs. Ges. d. W.* 1868, 118.

Michaelis, on his Plate 7, No. 7, in which he gives the various extant fragments in their right positions, makes the breasts of Athene and Poseidon face one another in this way. It has been found necessary thus to turn round several of Carrey's figures, so as to make them fit into their places.

Poseidon is certainly starting back; this cannot be denied, unless his position be completely altered, as it is by M. Stephani. But many different reasons have been assigned to his action. An account, however, which attributes it to a mere momentary panic at the sight of a snake can hardly be satisfactory. The object from which he recoils must be some sign of his final defeat, of which the award has already been brought by Hermes and Iris. His position is remarkably similar to that of Myron's Marsyas; and it is a curious coincidence that each of these two figures is associated in a group with Athene, who is in both cases the ultimate cause of the sudden panic. In a relief of Marsyas and Athene, too, given in Overbeck's *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik* (3rd ed.), vol. i., fig. 50, *c*, the Athene is very like the figure on our pediment. But, however this may be, Poseidon has evidently been intruding, and is suddenly repulsed. Mr. Watkiss Lloyd[1] has well pointed out how his vast physical strength is thus weakened and made inferior to that of Athene, whose position is one of advance and strength.

As regards Athene, the old interpretation which sees in the coin above reproduced Athene λαοσσόος has this one advantage over Prof. Robert's, that, though it does not point out the connexion of the Athene with the figure of that goddess on the Parthenon pediment, it at least makes her advance and not retreat. Even in Carrey's sketch one may see a distinct advance in the firm and deliberate tread of her right foot, on which her weight is thrown, though her body is still behind it; thus presenting a most marked contrast to Poseidon, whose weight is entirely on his backward left foot, and whose body is so far thrown back that his balance is hardly thus preserved. But Athene's action may be still further improved, if we give to her left arm the triumphant gesture which we see in the corresponding right arm on the coin. That gesture has not yet been satisfactorily explained; it does not look like beckoning to her

[1] *Class. Museum*, Jan. 1848.

people to follow; and what force is there in her 'pointing to the olive-tree,' while she flies and deserts it? But the gesture is natural enough if we regard her as half turning towards her vanquished adversary as she advances in triumph. Finally, in the subordinate figures on Athene's side, admiration for their protectress and her success, as Mr. Watkiss Lloyd observes, are portrayed, rather than terror at the wrath of Poseidon.

Thus, though many details are still left unexplained or undecided, some notion may be gained of the general motive of the central group in this western pediment; and one isolated vase, whose authority is, after all, but very precarious, will not be allowed to destroy all that we have learnt from Carrey's fairly correct sketches about this monument of the art of Athens and of Pheidias.

Ernest Arthur Gardner.

SOME PHRYGIAN MONUMENTS.

[Pl. XXVI.—XXIX.]

Of the five Phrygian monuments now published from the drawings of Mr. A. C. Blunt, No. 4 on Pl. XXVIII. may be assigned to an early period of Phrygian history. It has been already published by Steuart, *Anc. Monum.*; but like all his drawings, this is very incorrect and gives an inaccurate idea of the original.[1] The monument is at Yapuldak (see the map in last number of this Journal). There was at this place a town or fortification of some kind on the top of a hill, which rises about 200 feet above the plain. The western side of the hill is a precipice of rock, and on all other sides it is very steep. On the western side an underground staircase cut in the rock leads down to the plain: a similar one at Pishmish Kalessi has already been mentioned above, p. 6. Near this staircase there is a doorway leading into a small rock-chamber, from which another door in the opposite wall leads into a second chamber, larger than the first. At the back of the second chamber a door admits into a third chamber, and in the back of this third chamber there is a door or window which looks out over the precipice to the west. One can step out through this window and stand on a ledge about eighteen inches wide; and this is the only way to get a near view of the carved front which is now given according to Mr. Blunt's drawing and measurements. The architectural work round the door shows the love of ornament characteristic of both Phrygian and Mycenaean art. It does not consist of curved mouldings: the section shows only straight lines. There is a high pediment over the window, the centre of which is occupied by a peculiarly shaped obelisk. This pediment is very

[1] Steuart deserves credit as the discoverer of many of the Phrygian monuments, and for his good copies of several inscriptions. He was however no draughtsman, and his drawings have apparently been worked up at home.

like one over the door of a tomb in the side of Pishmish Kalessi, engraved by Perrot, *Voy. Archéol.* p. 146;[1] but is much more elaborate. On the two sides of the obelisk, arranged in the usual symmetrical fashion, are two animals, on the right side certainly a bull, on the left side probably a horse. The horse is frequently represented on the outside of Phrygian tombs, but I do not know any other case where the bull appears on them.

In the chambers there is no appearance of any graves: are we therefore to conclude that they were used as an abode for the living, or shall we think that the graves are concealed? The simplicity of design, both sculpturally and architecturally, marks this doorway as very early. The two animals in the pediment are carved in the same low relief as the two lions over the tomb already published (Pl. XVII.); and, so far as it is possible to judge, they seem not to belong to a more developed stage of art than the lions. As was proved in detail in this Journal, p. 1 ff., the oldest class of Phrygian monuments consists of human or animal figures carved in low relief, apparently in imitation of Cappadocian art. At first the process of carving consisted only in tracing an outline on the stone and slightly cutting away the ground around; but in Phrygia the art of sculpture was soon developed to a far higher stage than it ever attained in Cappadocia. It is not easy to say how early the beginnings of Phrygian art must be placed; probably the date is rather before than after 1000 B.C. This early date seems demanded by the close resemblance between Phrygian and Mycenaean art. I have already mentioned several points of analogy between them; but at the time of writing I had never seen the Lion-gate of Mycenae, and could not know how much more advanced[2] an art it shows than the Lion-tomb of Phrygia. In comparing these two monuments it is interesting to remember the prophecy of Prof. E. Curtius, published in 1874, 'Wir dürfen voraussetzen dass bei weiterer Durchforschung Kleinasiens auch monumentale Vorbilder des Löwenthors [of Mycenae] sich finden werden.'[3] It is always interesting to find

[1] Perrot considers the obelisk to be a *phallus*, a rude symbol of immortality: the dead man is a god, worshipped by his descendants, and his death is the birth into a new form of life.

[2] Of course not *necessarily* later in date, though more advanced in art.

[3] Curt. *Wappengebr. u. Wappenstil*, p. 111.

that the speculations to which scholars have been led are confirmed by further discovery; and few more striking examples of such confirmation have ever been known. Another analogy is suggested by the engraving which Dr. Schliemann has published (*Mycenae*, p. 267) of a gold ornament found at Mycenae.[1] It represents apparently the front of a shrine. The curious geometrical ornament arranged in panels, the side acroteria (omitting the birds perched on them), the quaint ornament of the central acroterion, resemble the general character of some Phrygian tombs.[2]

It appears therefore that the evidence of art confirms in the fullest way the old legends of the connection between Mycenae and Phrygia. But it is a long road over land and sea from the one country to the other: where shall we find the bridge between them? For my own part I cannot believe that a land passage over Thrace and Macedonia explains the phenomena presented to us. We can trace with certainty the passage of certain religious forms[3] from Phrygia by this route into Greece: but they are not presented to us as derived from Phrygia,—tradition ascribes them to Thrace, and only historical inference has traced their previous course from Phrygia. Connection between Mycenae and Phrygia must therefore be due to a maritime intercourse maintained between the eastern and western coasts of the Aegean Sea at a very early time. Several facts of history and of tradition acquire new light when viewed in this connection. Egyptian records show that Dardanian and Maeonian tribes invaded the Nile valley before 1200 B.C. These tribes had therefore ships and maritime skill. The Troad is represented by tradition as in communication with Phrygia on the one hand, with the Peloponnesus on the other. Priam fought for the

[1] Three of the same kind were found. Small shrines, in terracotta or metal, were common in Asia Minor. See Curtius in *Mittheil. Inst. Ath.* 1877, p. 48; *Acts Apost.* xix. 24.

[2] Dr. Milchhöfer has traced in the objects found at Mycenae three different elements: 'ein orientalisch-semitisch, durch die Phoenicier vermittelt; einen bildlosen, hoch entwickelten decorativen Metallstil, als dessen Heimath Kleinasien, als dessen Urheber die arische Grundbevölkerung der Halbinsel, die *Phryger*, anzusehen sind; endlich eine einheimische nationale Kunst, am reinsten in geschnittenen Steinen, mit *phrygischem* vermischt in gravirtem Goldschmuck und Erabreliefs vertreten' (*Arch. Ztg.* 1882, p. 82.)

[3] Especially the Dionysiac worship and the Orphic mysteries.

Phrygians against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius:[1] Phrygian auxiliaries came in return to Priam's aid: when the goddess appeared to her Trojan favourite she represents herself as the daughter of the Phrygian king: she has learned the Trojan language from her nurse, who was a Trojan woman: she bids Anchises send a messenger to ask her in marriage from her father.[2] Throughout the last passage mutual acquaintance and communication between the Troad and Phrygia is implied. Maritime connection between the west Aegean coasts and the Troad is implied as the groundwork of the Trojan legends: the raid of Paris, the Greek expedition, the trade between Lemnos and the Troad (*Il.* vii. 468), the fact that Agamemnon *πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν* (*Il.* ii. 108), all show that the sea-path (*πάτος, πόντος* the same word) was familiar when these legends could grow. After the Dorians conquered the Peloponnesus, the dispossessed tribes naturally emigrated to the Ionic and Aeolic coasts; but tribes to whom the sea was previously impassable could not have suddenly made fleets to carry whole colonies over the Aegean. Thus the close relation between the civilisation of Phrygia and that of the Peloponnesian kingdom as early as 1000 B.C., although it seems at the first glance paradoxical, is in complete accordance with a state of things which is assumed as the groundwork of the most famous legends of early Greece. The conclusion seems probable that, if ever the historical groundwork of the War of Troy is discovered, it will be found to explain the resemblance of Phrygian and Mycenaean art. In this early period the path of intercourse lay by the land-roads from the Sangarius valley to Smyrna and to the Troad, and thence by the ships of this old race which we must suppose to have inhabited the coasts on both sides of the Aegean. In spite of the difference of character between a seafaring and an inland race, this coast race, the 'Old Ionians' of Curtius, was probably closely akin to the Phrygians of the central plateau.

As civilisation advanced, the Phrygians struck out for themselves a new style of art, in which a large surface of rock is sculptured in low relief to imitate the quaint geometric patterns common on the carpets which are still woven in Phrygia. The connection between Phrygia and Cappadocia even in this more

[1] *Iliad* iii. 185.

[2] *Hymn Aphrod.* 111, *ff.*

advanced style is proved by the remarkable similarity of the pattern on the dress of the priest carved on the rocks at Ibriz in the south of Cappadocia to the pattern on the tomb of Midas. Probably the Babylonian and Assyrian[1] carpets and robes brought by trade into Asia Minor formed the model. The monument No. 5, Pl. XXIX. may probably be connected with this developed class. Its ornamentation is more architectural in style, but the idea of a sculptured front and a grave concealed behind is common to them all.[2] This monument is given as a specimen of a group of three, all at the village of Ayazeen, very similar in character and design yet varying in every detail. The architectural mouldings of the curious heavy horizontal panel are composed of curves, and belong to a more developed art than those of No. 4.

The period to which the monuments of this class belong is determined with some accuracy by several lines of reasoning, and chiefly by the trade which they imply with the East. I believe that this trade did not stop in Phrygia, but went on by a new road into Greece, and that it was developed by the trading instinct of the great Ionian cities in the eighth century. When the Greeks became familiar with the Black Sea, when the great trading city of Sinope sprang up about 785 B.C., the connection between Greece and Phrygia followed a new path. Phrygian and Cappadocian traders carried their goods down to Sinope to sell to the Milesian merchants;[3] the commercial class of Miletus, the *ἀειναῦται*, grew rich on the Black Sea trade, the Sinopic olives and the Sinopic furniture,[4] the Sinopic red earth (which is found in the centre of Cappadocia),[5] the salt fish of Sinope (called Phrygian by the comic poet Eupolis), the wood for shipbuilding which was so plentiful on the Sinopic coasts,[6] the Phrygian gold embroideries and carpets,[7] the Phrygian

[1] Paus. v. 12, 4.

[2] The shading on the sketch, Pl. XXIX., is too dark, and might convey the impression that there is an entrance to a deep hole in the middle of the sculptured front. It is merely that the ornamentation has been broken away in this part. The grave is a sort of well behind the carved front, accessible only from above.

[3] Just as the Armenian merchants brought the products of Babylonia and India by the later route over Comana and Amisus to sell to the traders of the coast; Strab. p. 559, Huellmann, *Handelsgesch. d. Gr.* p. 242.

[4] Strab. xii. p. 546.

[5] Strab. xii. p. 540.

[6] Strab. xii. p. 546.

[7] I find no direct proof in Greek literature that oriental carpets were made in Phrygia: but both embroid-

slaves,[1] the iron that was shipped at Sinope, in addition to the general Pontic corn trade. This was the easy path of commerce for several centuries, after the rise of the Mermnad dynasty. The Lydian empire, begun about 750, and consummated in 687 B.C.,[2] interposed a warlike and powerful kingdom between the coast-Greeks and the Phrygians. Hence we see that Herodotus knows nothing of the interior of Asia Minor, except the parts near Sinope and the easy natural road between Celaenae and Miletus. To judge from the evidence of literature, we should be obliged to say that the Phrygia of the Sangarius valley was better known at the time implied in the Trojan legends than it was in the time of Herodotus.

Several of the most splendid monuments of this class bear inscriptions in a character resembling archaic Greek. The Phrygian traders learned it from the Greek traders at Sinope, just as the Latins and Etruscans did from the colonists of Cumae: and the same alphabet occurs both in Phrygia and at Pteria in Cappadocia.[3] This alphabet represents a very much older stage of the Ionic character than the earliest examples known elsewhere, and contains a symbol which finally obtained a place in the Greek alphabet with a different value.[4] It must therefore have been learned before the destruction of Sinope about 670 B.C., and not after the city was re-established in 630.

Finally, we cannot date the highest perfection of Phrygian art later than the destruction of the Phrygian power by the Cimmerians about 670 B.C.[5] The Lydians and Greeks resisted the Cimmerians successfully, but the Phrygian power was broken: and when the barbarous invaders were expelled by the Lydians, Phrygia easily passed under the new conquerors. After some wars between Lydia and Media, the frontier between

ering in gold and carpet-making are still characteristic of the Phrygian country. Phrygio is the later Latin term for a gold embroiderer. The common epithets for carpets are Μηδικά (Ar. *Ran.* 937, *Vesp.* 1143), Περσικά (Athen. v. 197 B., Herod. ix. 80); and I believe that these carpets came at an early period by Sinope, as they came afterwards by Comana and Amisus.

[1] Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* viii. 7, 12.

[2] See p. 50 of this Journal and Gelzer on 'Gyges' in *Rhein. Mus.* xxx.

[3] See 'Phrygia and Cappadocia' in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* for Jan. 1883.

[4] It is used in the Lycian alphabet with the same value as in Phrygia, *v.l.c.*

[5] The date is determined with approximate accuracy by the evidence of the Assyrian Inscriptions.

them was fixed at the Halys in 585 B.C. Of course Phrygian art was not destroyed, and some of the monuments of the class we are discussing may be placed later than 670. But with national life there disappeared much of the native spirit and the power of initiative that had hitherto governed the development of Phrygian art. Lydia was penetrated with the Greek spirit, and its troops were armed in the Greek style. The Greek influence, passing over Lydia, affected the Phrygian art. The tombs, always places of worship for the family of the deceased, were modelled on the Greek temple architecture. At first they show a mixture of Greek art with oriental sculpture; but the latter gradually disappears.

To this period we may assign the remaining monuments. Greek influence is almost supreme, though the old Phrygian device, the pair of animals, still persists. All the three monuments are at Ayazeen. No. 1, Pl. XXVI. is a very elaborate one. It has both a sort of prostyle front, still nearly complete, and an inner front, the wall of the tomb proper, with a pair of lions over the doorway (Pl. XXVII.). The appearance of this façade would however be less purely Greek if the two projecting members, supported in some way on columns, at right and left of the front, were still remaining: but they were so much decayed that it was impossible to gather their original character. Entering the sepulchral temple, we find three graves in the side and back walls, each in a deep vaulted niche. Two lions lean on the sides of the upper niche in the back wall. The floor of the temple is full of tombs, and in Pl. XXVII. C., which represents the front wall of the interior, four of these graves are shown in vertical section. On this front wall, on the two sides of the doorway, on the inside, are panels with a human figure carved in each. The Mohammedans have carefully defaced these forbidden representations of the human form, and it was impossible to judge from the almost obliterated figures how far they were done under Greek influence. The large number of graves show that this was a family tomb, used for several generations, like the mound-chambers of Greece.

No. 3, Pl. XXVIII. also represents a family tomb. It is placed high on the rocks far from any other tombs; and just in front of the door, in a rock that projects on the right side, is a rough sepulchral niche, with two rudely carved lions on each side

within the niche. This outer grave perhaps belongs to a favoured servant.[1]

No. 6, Pl. XXIX. is interesting as giving the mutilated remains of the only Ionic capital that I have ever seen in the interior of Asia Minor. In all other monuments known to me the columns are more like Doric. Sometimes indeed they have bases, usually tall rectangular blocks. I regret that space forbids us to publish here any tomb of this kind. It cannot be determined except by accurate drawings whether these monuments are debased Greek, or whether they show the influence of oriental rather than of Greek architecture. On a point of architectural style my opinion is of too little value to make it worth stating; but accurate drawings might be studied by experienced scholars.

There are many other monuments in the two necropoleis, of which Mr. Blunt has brought home drawings. I cannot help urging the great importance of preserving these drawings; even unpublished, they will be available for study, and the relation between Greece and Phrygia can be determined only by a careful study of the whole of them, and not by a sight merely of some few specimens. The Tomb of Midas, the most beautiful of all the Phrygian monuments, is fairly accurate in Texier's engraving; and the corrections made by M. Perrot (*Voyage*, p. 112), enable any one to restore for himself the front quite correctly. But there is another tomb, which was once intended for publication in this number, belonging to the same period as the Midas Tomb, and of great interest from the employment of the lotus-ornament and of rosettes, of which Texier's drawing is very inaccurate. There are also two tombs resembling No. 5, Pl. XXIX., and several others of the latest class, which ought all to be preserved for purposes of study. Even the rough notes and measurements may be hereafter worked up. I may also mention the temple-gateway of Brouzos as being the finest Greek[2] gateway existing in Asia Minor and still in perfect preservation: Mr. Blunt's drawing of this, even if not published, will be carefully treasured for study.

W. M. Ramsay.

[1] No. 2, Pl. XXVII. gives a sketch of an interesting tomb of this period: it is now very much decayed, but enough remained to enable Mr. Blunt to restore it with perfect certainty. Space however forbids us to give the details.

[2] Or Graeco-Roman.

THE PALACES OF HOMER.

It is much to be regretted that the invaluable researches of Schliemann, which have done so much to illuminate many fields of Homeric archaeology, help us but little in our reconstruction of the houses of Homeric chiefs. Both at Hissarlik and at Mycenae that indefatigable explorer laid bare the foundations or substructions of houses, large in comparison with those which surrounded them, which must probably have belonged to chiefs or kings. But the dwelling at Hissarlik belonged to a far ruder city than that of Homer,[1] and in the foundations of walls near the Agora of Mycenae no clear plan can be made out. So it is also at Ithaca. Gell's description of the plan of the palace of Odysseus, a plan which he professed to be based on still existing remains on Mount Aetos in Ithaca, rests, as is now well known, on nothing but invention and imagination. Schliemann found indeed on the summit of that hill a small level platform of triangular form, which he conjectures to have been originally in size some 166 feet by 127 feet, and surrounded by a massive circuit-wall. And within the circuit he found remnants of six or seven Cyclopean buildings, which may have been chambers of one house.[2] But there is nothing to lead us to suppose that these buildings belonged to the Homeric age; therefore for a restoration of the palace of that age they afford little or no material.

Evidence of closer bearing is furnished by existing country-houses and caravanserais of the East, where things change so slowly. Sometimes these help us to interpret passages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which would otherwise be obscure. More than once in the course of this article I shall draw evidence

[1] *Ilios*, p. 326.

[2] *Ilios*, p. 47.

from this source. Mr. Lang suggests[1] that there is a close analogy between the Homeric hall and that of Scandinavian peoples, and refers to the restoration of the latter by Sir G. W. Dasent.[2] It does not appear how far this latter plan is conjectural and how far based on sure evidence, but in any case it offers in most respects not likeness, but a striking contrast to the early Greek hall. I need refer but to two points of difference. The women's quarters were certainly in the Homeric house extensive, in the Scandinavian they scarcely exist apart, women in the north living far more among men. The Scandinavian hall is based on an arrangement of tables; the tables in the Homeric hall were quite small and placed beside guests in any part. Mr. Lang makes a decided oversight in speaking of the high table in the hall of Odysseus.

Thus, after all, our chief materials for the reconstruction of the Homeric hall must be gathered from the words of Homer himself. These I have carefully collected and surveyed, and whether my account of the palace of the king be in all respects correct or not, I can at least claim that it is the outcome of considerable pains, and almost entirely based on personal study of the Homeric poems.

The houses of Homeric chiefs consisted of three parts, *αὐλή*, *δῶμα* or *μέγαρον*, and *θάλαμος*,[3] of which the first was the front court, the second the hall of the men, the third the apartments of the women. All these parts will be reviewed in order. All were inclosed by a massive stone wall, doubtless of Cyclopean construction.

As one approached the house this wall would be most conspicuous, with the roofs of the buildings within it showing over the top. Vivid are the words in which Odysseus as he approaches his own house describes it to Eumaeus, 'There is building beyond building, and the court is furnished with wall and battlements, and there are solid two-fold doors; no man might scorn it.'[4] This wall was for defence rather than any

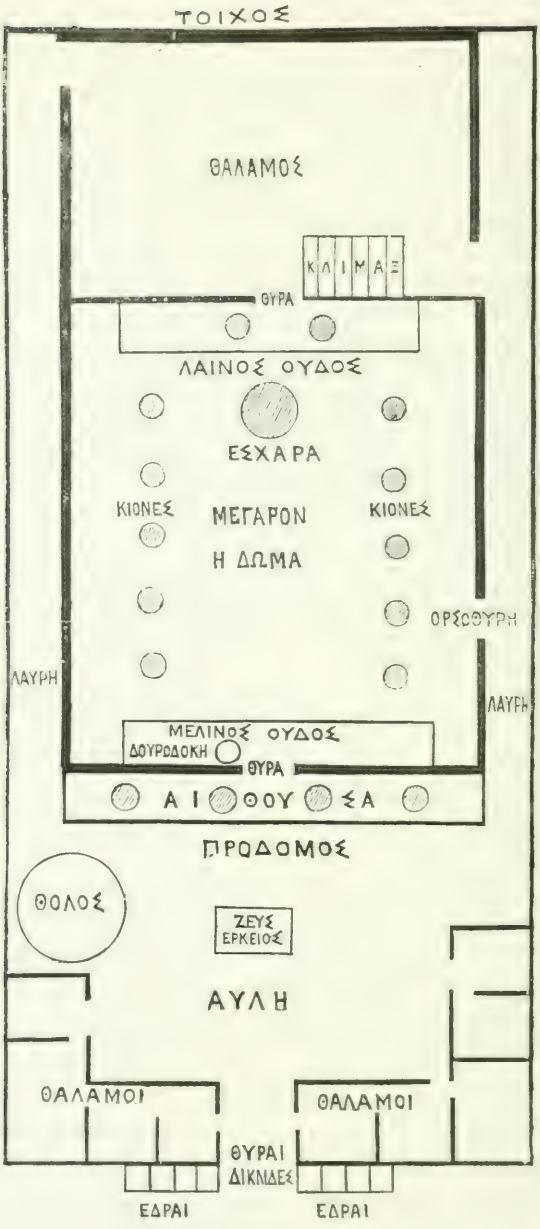
[1] *Trans. of Odyssey*, p. 422.

[2] Dasent, *Story of Burnt Njal*, vol. i.

[3] *Il.* vi. 313 :—

οἵ οἱ ἐποίησαν θάλαμον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλήν.

[4] *Od.* xvii. 266. The reader who follows this paper with Butcher and Lang's translation of the *Odyssey* must do so with caution. Their version is in many ways good, but often archaeologically misleading. Thus, they render *χιτών* by 'doublet,' when 'shirt' is the equivalent; and *αἴθουσα* by 'corridor,' when 'porch' is far more correct. So



PALACE OF ODYSSEUS. GROUND PLAN.

other purpose. It was pierced only at one point and at that defended by massive folding doors, *θύραι δικλίδες*. Outside the wall on either side the doors were stone seats, *ἕδραι* which seem to have commanded a wide prospect, for the wooers sit there and see the ship of Telemachus sail into harbour.[1]

Passing through the solid doors the traveller would find himself in an open court-yard, *αὐλή*. In front of him would lie the lofty hall; on either side and behind him built against the ring-wall were small cells and chambers, all probably loosely built of stone. Of these chambers some served as farm buildings and as houses for the mills[2] and as places for the storage of provisions, some as bed-rooms for male slaves. One or two of the better ones were even used as chambers for unmarried sons of the house: Telemachus, for instance, certainly slept in the *αὐλή*.[3] So did Phoenix, as we shall presently see. The court was not paved, and was probably in at least as dirty a condition as our farm-yards. Eumaeus, when he brought boars for the feeding of the suitors let them feed at large in the court,[4] probably on the refuse there lying about. In one corner of the court was the mysterious *θολος* which has caused so much discussion. That it was not a kitchen is certain; for we read that food was cooked in the Megaron itself. Nor was it a treasury; the treasury of the house certainly lay in the women's quarters. It was circular; this the name implies; and from the analogy of the circular buildings still remaining at Orchomenus and Mycenae we should conjecture that it may have been a family burial-place. In early times the custom of burying on the premises prevailed with several branches of the Indo-European race.[5] This however is a conjecture which it is impossible to verify in the present state of knowledge. In the midst of the court was the altar of Zeus Ἑρκεῖος, the 'well-wrought altar of the great Zeus of the Court'[6] as it is termed.

Along the whole front turned to the court-yard by the lofty house ran the *αἴθουσα*, a sort of porch or portico supported by pillars. This covered space, which was probably also paved,

they translate *θόλος* 'kitchen-dome' without good authority.

[1] *Od.* xvi. 342, cf. iii. 406.

[2] *Od.* xx. 105. Odysseus, as he lies in the *αἴθουσα*, hears the women, as they grind at the mills, complaining.

[3] *Od.* xix. 48.

[4] *Od.* xx. 164.

[5] Marquardt, *Röm. Privatalterthümer*, p. 350.

[6] *Od.* xxii. 334.

was used for a variety of purposes. Here animals such as goats[1] and oxen brought for household use were tethered; and here were sometimes spread rough shake-downs for less distinguished guests to sleep on. Odysseus while an unhonoured guest in his own house slept in the *αἴθουσα*,[2] spreading on the ground a bull's hide and over that the fleeces of sheep. So Telemachus when a guest at Sparta slept in the *πρόδομος*.[3] In this case it is previously stated that Helen had ordered coverlets to be placed for him *ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ*, so that it would appear that *πρόδομος* and *αἴθουσα* are sometimes used as convertible terms. Naturally the Prodomus is the space immediately before the house and its door, and as this position was in the Homeric house occupied by the Aethusa the two are usually confused. But there is one passage in the *Iliad* in which the two are carefully distinguished, and as this has usually been misunderstood, it will be well here briefly to discuss it. The house to which the passage in question refers is not that of Odysseus, but of Amyntor, father of Phoenix. Young Phoenix was endeavouring to escape from the house,[4] having had a quarrel with his father, and had shut himself at the time into his bedchamber, *θάλαμος*, in the *αὐλή*, against its outer wall. His friends wished to detain him, and for nine days kept watch, burning two fires, one under the *αἴθουσα* and one in the *πρόδομος* before the doors of the *θάλαμος*. I take it that the second of these fires was built just in front of the little chamber of the court where Phoenix was hidden. The fire in the Aethusa would light all the court, and the second fire would make it almost impossible for Phoenix to come out without being seen. At last, however, having tired out the watchers, on the tenth day he broke out, leaped the wall of the *αὐλή*, the door being no doubt guarded, and so fled. This reading gives sense to the passage, which remains quite unintelligible if the word *θάλαμος* is supposed here to refer to the inner women's apartments.

The usual epithet of Homer for the *αἴθουσα* is *ἠρίδουπος*[5] 'echoing.' If it had a pavement and a roof supported on pillars, it would richly merit this epithet. As to the origin of

[1] *Od.* xx. 189.
[2] *Od.* xx. 1.
[3] *Od.* v. 302.
[4] *Il.* ix. 471, *sqq.*
[5] *Od.* xx. 189.

the name there is some doubt. Eustathius says[1] it was so called because it was a porch sun-lighted, στοὰ ἡλίῳ αἴθουσα, on which Nissen remarks with some justice that the form αἴθουσα is active, not passive, and the place should be one giving not receiving light; further, that in one sense this part of the house may be said to light the rest, as light passed through it by the open door.

Crossing the αἴθουσα a visitor would reach the great doors opening into the μέγαρον, the public hall where in Homeric days the chiefs lived among their friends and retainers in a public life closely resembling that of Scandinavian chiefs and mediaeval barons. Of the doors themselves we may form a clear notion from Homer's description of those in the palace of Alcinous[2] which are indeed described as made of gold and silver but were no doubt in form like other doors. They were folding, and supported on either side by a solid σταθμός or door-post. The doors were not suspended on hinges, but turned in sockets; such at least is the construction found in early Greek doorways such as those at Mycenae. Over them was a ὑπερθύριον or cornice, and on them handles of metal.[3] They were secured by wooden bolts, or could in some cases be unlocked from outside by a key like that used by Penelope, with ivory handle and bronze teeth.[4]

At either end of the hall was a door, of which doors one led into the outer court, the other into the women's apartments, the θάλαμος. In front of both doors was a long and probably raised threshold or οὐδός. The threshold in front of the door into the court was made of ash-wood, μέλινος οὐδός,[5] that in front of the women's door was of stone, λάϊνος οὐδός: a distinction regularly observed which the reader of the *Odyssey* must keep in mind, or he will soon become confused in his topography. When Odysseus arrives as a beggar, he takes his modest place on the ashen threshold, and it is afterwards, when thoughts of vengeance are thickening in his mind, that Telemachus calls him up to a higher and more honourable place and gives him a seat near the threshold of stone. By the ashen threshold,

[1] Ad *Il.* ix. 468, connecting the term with the verb αἴθω, cf. Nissen, *Pompeian. Studien.*

[2] *Od.* vii. 88.

[3] *Od.* vii. 88.

[4] *Od.* xxi. 7.

[5] *Od.* xvii. 339.

against one of the pillars of the hall was the δουροδόκη or spear-stand, where guests who entered the house left their spears behind them,[1] and even the master of the house kept his spears standing.

The height of the μέγαρον was that of the house itself and its size so great that the three hundred suitors of Penelope could live and feed in it. The roof was supported by pillars which probably (although this is only a theory of the Commentators), stood in rows and divided the hall into three aisles or corridors. These pillars are mentioned in one of the most picturesque passages of the *Odyssey*, where Pallas spreads a light through the hall and Telemachus exclaims,[2] 'A wondrous sight, my father, meets my eyes. Meseems that the walls of the hall and the fair spaces between the pillars, and the beams of pine, and the pillars that sustain them, are bright to my eyes as if with flaming fire.' In this passage, too, occurs the most puzzling term μεσόδμαι, which I have rendered by the most general phrase 'spaces between the pillars.'

The μεσίδμαι have long been the *crux* of the Homeric commentators. The old writers were as much puzzled by them as the moderns. Aristarchus says vaguely that they were μεσόστυλα, Hesychius that they were half pillars or pilasters in the wall. Galen[3] gives a detailed and remarkable explanation of the term which has of late years been accepted by Rumpf, the most bulky of the writers on the Homeric house. Galen states that in his time in the main hall of large farm-houses there were ranged on either side of the stove, which was placed in the midst of the hall, stalls in which stood cattle, and over these shelves or *soupentes* on which slept the men in charge of them, as a groom sleeps over his horses. This arrangement, which is like that of a church in which galleries are erected over the side-aisles, is still usual in caravanserais in the East. It is still found in North German farm-houses[4] and in the country houses of Calabria.[5] It would therefore seem to be an ancient arrangement among peoples of Indo-European race. In another place Galen speaks of the μεσόδμη as τὸ μέγα ξύλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου τοίχου πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον διῆκον. Putting these

[1] *Od.* i. 128; xvii. 29. In the plan the pillar is unfortunately omitted. *Od.* xix. 37.

[2] *De Antidotis*, i. 3.

[3] Nissen, *Pomp. Stud.* p. 612.

[4] *Rumpf*, ii. 39.

passages together Rumpf (p. 29) understands by the term *μεσόδμαι* these shelves or galleries for sleeping in. But there are great and perhaps insuperable objections to this view. Thus we do not hear of any one sleeping in the *μέγαρον* of Odysseus. Laertes and his slaves do indeed sleep in the *μέγαρον*, but it is in the dust round the fire, not in lofts.[1] Certainly cattle were not stalled in the *μέγαρον*, and so the necessity for *suspentes* would not exist. And we cannot follow Rumpf when he sees in the phrase *ῥῶγες μεγάροιο*, of which we must presently speak, a second allusion to the same constructions. We therefore prefer to leave the meaning of the word *μεσόδμαι* undetermined. We might easily reach a definite opinion, however, if we could trust Quintus Smyrnaeus. That late writer clearly thought that the *μεσόδμαι* were not space, but something thick and heavy, probably beams, as Galen fancied. For in describing the burning of Troy,[2] he makes a burning *μεσοδμή* fall upon one of the Trojans and slay him in his own house.

The *ἐσχάρα* or hearth, where was done all the cooking of the house, was situate in the upper end of the hall near the threshold of stone. The smoke arising from it wreathed about the hall,[3] blackening the beams and the arms hung on the walls, and finally making its escape at a hole in the roof. This latter is not indeed mentioned in Homer but we are driven to assume its existence, for how else could smoke leave and light enter the apartment? Moreover we know that such a hole belongs to the earliest form of Graeco-Roman house[4] and was the precursor alike of the Roman atrium and the Greek peristyle. We may gather from a story told by Herodotus[5] that it existed in early Greek houses, such as those of kings of Macedon, and that the sunlight fell through it in a square patch on to the floor.

The *μέγαρον* was by no means inaccessible to the women-folk of the household. They did not indeed eat there with the men, but they were frequent spectators of the eating and the amusements of the men. The maid-servants of Penelope not only clean and sprinkle the hall,[6] wiping the tables with sponges and removing the fragments of broken food from the floor, but

[1] *Od.* xi. 190.
[2] xiii. 451.
[3] *Od.* xvi. 288.
[4] Marquardt, *Röm. Alterth.* vii. 1, 212.
[5] viii. 137.
[6] *Od.* xix. 60; xx. 149.

also take special charge of the braziers intended alike for the warming and the lighting of the room, even staying in the hall far into the night to replenish them with fuel. Even the lady of the house and her daughters sometimes enter the hall. Penelope is sitting in the hall while her white-armed attendants go through the cleansing process already mentioned; and when the wooers are feasting she comes accompanied by two of her handmaids from her chamber, and stands, with her glistening peplos wrapped about her face, by the inner door of the hall, *παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος*,[1] close to one of the main pillars. Hence she addresses Antinous, and here she sits spinning while Telemachus and Piraeus feed together.[2] Even when Odysseus is in the hall bathed with warm water and anointed with oil by old Euryclea, Penelope is present, sitting near the *ἐσχάρα* or stove, but discreetly turning her head in another direction.[3]

It has been supposed by some writers that the *μυχός* was a definite part of the Homeric hall, just as the *ala* was of Roman houses, that part in fact which lay immediately in front of the door into the women's apartments. But it appears to me, on the collation of a number of passages in which the term *μυχός* occurs, that it means only the inner end of any building, *i.e.* that furthest from the outer door. Thus it is frequently said that the nuptial chamber was *ἐν μυχῷ δόμου*,[4] and so Achilles sleeps *ἐν μυχῷ κλισίης*: and in another place we have the phrase *ἐς μυχὸν θαλάμου*.[5] No doubt the *μυχός* of the hall was the space on the stone threshold by the women's door, but it would seem that Rumpf is wrong in supposing that there was anything special or technical in this application of the term.

That the floor of the *μέγαρον* between the two thresholds was of hard earth merely is proved by the account given us of Telemachus' proceedings in setting up the line of axes to shoot through. We are told that he dug a straight trench right across the hall[6] wherein to fix the handles of the axes. So at a later time, when Telemachus and the servants wish to clean the floor from the blood of the suitors, the instrument he uses

[1] *Od.* xviii. 209; xvi. 415. So also Nausicaa, *Od.* viii. 458.
[2] *Od.* xvii. 97.
[3] *Od.* xix. 478.
[4] *Od.* iii. 402 of Nestor; iv. 304 of Menelaus; vii. 346 of Alcinous.
[5] *Od.* xvi. 285.
[6] *Od.* xxi. 120.

is a λιστρόν or shovel, which would obviously only be of use in working on an earthen floor.

There are two other buildings in close connexion with the hall, of the place of which we must speak, the baths and the treasury or armoury.

We read in one place that when the suitors came to the palace of Odysseus they laid aside their outer garments, χλαίνας, on the seats of the hall and went to the polished baths,[1] ἐυξέστας ἀσαμίνθους, and bathed, after which they returned to the hall. Closer indications are wanting, but it seems to me that the description is sufficiently definite to enable us to infer that the baths were a separate building, and as they clearly could not have been in the women's apartments they must have been in the outer court, αὐλή, where indeed we should have expected, *a priori*, to find them. Odysseus, as we have already remarked, has his bath in the μέγαρον itself after the guests have left, but this is a curious exceptional case; in fact the whole story of the bath of Odysseus seems to be an episode with a flavour of ruder times than the Homeric.

As to the position of the treasury Homer seems to be less clear than in other matters. The first mention of a treasury in the house of Odysseus occurs in the following lines:—[2]

> Ὣς φάν· ὁ δ' ὑψόροφον θάλαμον κατεβήσατο πατρὸς
> εὐρύν, ὅθι νητὸς χρυσὸς καὶ χαλκὸς ἔκειτο, &c.

which at first sight seem to imply a treasure-house below ground. But doubt of this reading is at once suggested: perhaps the word θάλαμος may here not stand for treasury at all, but be used in its ordinary Homeric sense of 'women's apartments,' so that we must pass this passage as not decisive in any direction. From the next passage of importance[3] which describes the removal of the arms from the μέγαρον to the treasury, we do not gain any information as to the position of the latter, save that before the removal Eurycleia shut the doors of the μέγαρα, confining in them the women, lest they should interrupt the process. The μέγαρα here are clearly not the same as the μέγαρον, probably they are the larger rooms of the θάλαμος where the women were used to sit at their spinning.[4] If,

[1] *Od.* xvii. 87.
[2] *Od.* ii. 337.
[3] *Od.* xix. *ad init.*
[4] Cf. *Od.* xxii. 151.

however, we turn to the passages relating to the treasury in later books we shall clearly see that it was in the women's court[1] and at its further extremity, θάλαμος ἔσχατος. It had a lofty roof formed of beams,[2] and was protected by solid doors closed with a key.[3] More information than this can scarcely be extracted from the Homeric narrative.

We now reach the hardest point of all in the topography of the μέγαρον, namely the position of the postern-gate, ὀρσοθύρη. In order to decide it we must follow somewhat closely the motions of Odysseus from the moment when he took into his hands the bow which he intended to use for the destruction of the suitors. When Odysseus first came as a beggar to his own house he took his modest post by the entrance-door on the ashen threshold. But when the day of vengeance was come, Telemachus, whether acting on a previous agreement or on his own impulse, called him to a seat and a table at the upper end of the hall.[4] In this seat he remained while the suitors feasted, and from it without rising when he received the fatal bow he shot an arrow through all the axes which were ranged in line by Telemachus on the floor of the μέγαρον, the arrow which as we are told 'missed not one of all the axes, but came out through all.'[5]

The reception of the bow and his successful use of it seem to have been accepted by Odysseus as a sign that the hour of fate had come. He had indeed already made preparations for the destruction of the suitors. He had already ordered Philoetius to secure the outer gate of the αὐλή,[6] and that worthy had carried out those orders.[7] 'Philoetius hasted silently out from the hall and shut the gates of the well-fenced court. Now there lay beneath the porch a cable of an oared ship made of byblus, and with that he bound the gates and returned to the hall.' This is a good instance of the general Homeric accuracy. No doubt the door of the court had bars wherewith it could be fastened from inside. But as Philoetius wished to prevent the suitors from escaping from within, to bolt the gate from within would be useless. To tie it firmly with byblus root would not

[1] *Od.* xxi. 8.
[2] *Od.* xxii. 176.
[3] xxii. 156.
[4] xx. 258.
[5] *Od.* xxi. 422.
[6] xxi. 240.
[7] xxi. 388.

finally prevent escape from within but would delay the escape of any fugitive, who would be obliged either to untie the rope or to cut it with a sword—no easy task. While Philoetius was thus occupied, the nurse Eurycleia was also busy, by order of Odysseus,[1] in fastening the well-fitting doors of the *μέγαρον*, *i.e.* the doors leading into the *θάλαμος*, alike in order to prevent any of the suitors from escaping thither, and in order that the women might not bring succour of arms to them. Thus there remained, as may be seen on consulting the plan, only two means of escape for the foes of Odysseus, the front door of the *μέγαρον* and the postern-gate, both of which the hero himself found effectual means of guarding.

But in order that he should do so Odysseus was obliged to cross the hall.[2] He was, as we have seen, sitting at the upper end of the hall. If he had thence attacked the suitors they might have easily passed out into the outer court and fetched arms. His best post was clearly on the ashen threshold in front of the unfastened doors of the hall. And the course of the Homeric narrative shows that it was here that he posted himself. But curiously it is not stated in the *Odyssey* that he traversed the length of the *μέγαρον*. The narrative there merely mentions that Telemachus at a sign from his father seized a spear and took a post beside him, and then that Odysseus himself stripped off his rags, leaped upon the threshold (the vague term *μεγας οὐδός* is used) and began pouring his arrows upon the suitors.[3] Whether the omission be due to unskilful piecing together of narrative, to forgetfulness, or any other cause, it is there, and we must explain it as best we can.

The suitors when they see that Odysseus is bent on destroying them, first look in vain on the walls of the hall for the weapons which have usually hung there; but these have been removed of set purpose beforehand. Next they try to adopt the advice of Eurymachus, to use the tables as shields and run upon Odysseus with their swords; but they cannot face his steady shooting. Amphinomus, bolder than the rest, makes a determined effort to drive Odysseus from his post at the door,[4] but Telemachus strikes him down from behind. It would seem that Telemachus has

[1] *Od.* xxi. 380.

[2] To Mr. Watkiss Lloyd belongs, I think, the credit of first proving this. See P.S. of this paper.

[3] *Od.* xxi. *ad fin.*; xxii. *ad init.*

[4] *Od.* xxii. 91 : *εἷπως οἱ ἐξεῖτε θυράων.*

been making his way more slowly than his father across the hall from the stove to the ashen threshold, and comes up just at this juncture. After slaying Amphinomus, he does not wait to withdraw the spear but proceeds at a run and joins his father on the ashen threshold, which no doubt being raised above the floor acted as a sort of vantage-ground.

This deed procures a moment's respite for Odysseus, who uses it in arming himself with helmet, shield, and spears.[1] The suitors are at their wit's end, and the only expedient which occurs to them is that Melanthius shall escape by the postern-gate,[2] *ὀρσοθύρη*, and give an alarm in the town. The position of this postern is given exactly, partly in the narrative of Homer himself, and partly in the reply of Melanthius. From the first source we learn that it was *ἀκρότατον παρ' οὐδόν*, a phrase which I would render 'by the extremity of the threshold' (although it will equally well bear the meaning 'by the top of the threshold'), as well as that it led into a *λαυρή* or narrow passage. Melanthius' answer gives us still more exact information. He says that he dares not do what is proposed,[3]

ἄγχι γὰρ αἰνῶς
αὐλῆς καλὰ θύρετρα καὶ ἀργαλέον στόμα λαύρης·
καί χ' εἷς πάντας ἐρύκοι ἀνὴρ, ὅστ' ἄλκιμος εἴη.

This passage is rendered by Butcher and Lang thus, 'for the fair doors towards the court are grievously near to the postern, and perilous is the entrance to the passage, and one mighty man would keep back a host.' The true sense will however be clearer if we read thus: '—to the [postern, the] perilous entrance to the passage, and one mighty man might keep back a host,' defending, in fact, both at once. No doubt it is somewhat forced to apply the term *αὐλῆς θύρετρα* to the doors *into* the court, and the term *στόμα λαύρης* to the entrance *into* the alley or passage, but only by this rendering can a satisfactory meaning be gained. Further, we can produce several instances in which Homer does thus use the phrases cited. Thus Pallas, when as Mentes she repairs to the Hall of Odysseus and stands on the outer threshold of the *μέγαρον*, is said to

[1] xxii. 122.

[2] A word of disputed derivation. Some would connect it with *ὄρνυμι*, some with *ὄρρος*.

[3] *Od.* xxii. 136.

stand *οὐδοῦ ἐπ' αὐλείου*.[1] So in the story of Phoenix the Aethusa is called *αἴθουσα αὐλῆς*.

A glance at the Plan will show the position of matters as I understand them. On it the position of the postern-gate is certainly perilously near the place where Odysseus has taken his stand, and any man attempting to escape by it would certainly be transfixed from behind by the arrow or the lance of Odysseus or Telemachus. If the fugitive had reached the *λαύρη* he could have passed into the *αὐλή*, but still would have found the outer doors of that enclosure fast: this however the suitors and Melanthius could scarcely be expected to know. The precautions of Odysseus had been taken secretly.

Melanthius not daring to approach the postern proposes an alternative, offering to fetch weapons from the thalamus within[2] (*ἔνδον*), in order that the suitors may arm themselves. And this he does, reaching the inner treasury not by the regular doors, which are fastened, but *ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγάροιο*. This again is a phrase not easy to interpret. Rumpf held that the *ῥῶγες* were the same as the *μεσόδμαι*, a term of which we have already spoken.[3] Others translate 'windows' or 'clerestory.' That there were windows, is, however, unlikely. The *μέγαρον* is dark, *σκιόεν*, and the advantage of ventilation is seldom appreciated in primitive societies. It is quite possible that if the hall of Odysseus was constructed, like the walls of Tiryns and Mycenae, of rough-hewn huge blocks of stone piled together, a man might climb up the hall inside by putting his hands and feet in the interstices of the blocks. But he could scarcely return by the same route laden with armour. However this be, what is clear is that Melanthius found some new and unsuspected way into the treasury and that he reached it by climbing in the *μέγαρον*.

On seeing the suitors arming themselves Odysseus at first supposes, as was quite natural, that some of the women have passed out armour by the door of their apartments.[4] But as Melanthius attempts a second voyage he is seen by Eumaeus, who with Philoetius has now joined the party of Odysseus. By order of their chief, these two henchmen, passing out by the main gate or the postern go round by the *λαύρη* (see Plan) and

[1] *Od.* i. 104.
[2] *Od.* xxii. 139.
[3] pp. 47–54.
[4] *Od.* xxii. 151.

surprise Melanthius in the treasury itself. There they seize and bind him, and thence return as they had come to Odysseus, having first clothed themselves with armour. The party of Odysseus now consists of four men all armed; and the suitors over-matched are driven down the hall like a flock of birds before the onset of kites,[1] and are slain as they fly. Only Medon and Phemius survive. Phemius doubts whether he shall escape by the postern, which is now no longer guarded, as the party of Odysseus has advanced from the threshold and sit down by the altar of Zeus in the court, but finally resolves to throw himself on the clemency of Odysseus, and is, with Medon, spared.[2]

The slaughter is now complete, and Eurycleia is summoned to unbar the door of the *θάλαμος*. Telemachus and the henchmen carry out the dead and lay them in the *αἴθουσα*, and fastening a rope from the *θρίγκος* to a pillar of the same *αἴθουσα* hang there in a row all those of the maid-servants of Odysseus who have committed themselves with the suitors. The Plan will make this action clear.

We now pass in our account of the Odysseian house to the third part, the *θάλαμος*. Dr. Hayman, in opposition to all the ancient commentators, maintains[3] that there was not in the house of Odysseus any portion specially devoted to women. He therefore supposes the women's rooms to have been scattered round the *μέγαρον* and over the *αἴθουσα*. We have not space fully to examine his views, which certainly would not bear close examination. Not only was there a women's *θάλαμος*, but we are able in some degree to trace its arrangements. In the first place it contained the workroom or workrooms of the women. These Homer sometimes calls *μέγαρα* and sometimes *θάλαμος*. They were on the ground floor. This we know from a passage in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, where Penelope is represented as weeping *ἐπ' οὐδοῦ πολυκμήτου θαλάμοιο*[4] surrounded by her maidens, until at the request of her nurse she goes up stairs to the bed-chamber more especially belonging to her,[5] which was reached by a ladder, *κλῖμαξ*.[6] A treasury, that where the bow was kept, was also up stairs in the *θάλαμος*. And we also

[1] *Od.* xxii. 303.
[2] *Od.* xxii. 379.
[3] *Odyssey*, vol. i. 127.
[4] l. 718.
[5] l. 760.
[6] *Od.* xxi. 5.

know that in the midst of it was an open hypaethral court, in which had stood in old days an olive-tree, which with his own hands Odysseus had cut short and fashioned into a post for his bed, building about the bed so made a chamber of stone and roofing it over.[1] This same arrangement of a court in the women's apartments where fresh chambers could be built we meet in the house of Priam.[2] There inside the house were built fifty chambers of polished stone where the fifty sons of Priam slept with their wives. On the other hand the twelve sons-in-law of Priam with their wives were not allowed, as not kindred in blood, to sleep in the women's apartments, but had chambers erected for them in the outer court, *αὐλή*. This distinction is curious and interesting as throwing light on the manners of the times.

The other houses mentioned in the Homeric poems may be passed with very few words. The Palace of Alcinous, though belonging in the main to fairy-land, yet does not differ in plan from that of Odysseus. One curious point is worth noting, that a fire is kindled for Nausicaa in her private chamber and food prepared there.[3] Such luxuries were probably reserved for fairy-princesses in those rude days. The construction also of the Hall of Alcinous, lined with plates of bronze, has often been noted as comparable to that of the Treasuries of Mycenae and Orchomenus. This construction was of course oriental; and we find it surviving in the East even in the days of Apollonius of Tyana.[4] The house of Alcinous has even a brazen floor, it is a *χαλκοβατὲς δῶ*; this, however, must be taken as a poetical flight. In all the description of that splendid house the poet acts on the words of the Jewish prophet, 'For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron.'[5]

In the abode of Circe[6] we find a flat roof whereon Elpenor sleeps for the sake of coolness: and whence, rising in alarm, he falls headlong to the ground. But the flat roof was not invariable at the period. Most roofs were pointed, else the *δοκοὶ*, the crossing beams which supported them, could not with propriety have been compared to wrestlers leaning forward

[1] *Od.* xxiii. 190.
[2] *Il.* vi. 242.
[3] *Od.* vii. 12.
[4] Philostr. *Vit. Apol.*
[5] Isaiah lx. 17.
[6] *Od.* x. 552.

to grasp one another.[1] In the instance of the abode of Eumaeus, and the tent of Achilles, we may observe that even the pressure of poverty and the necessities of a campaign, though they affect the size and elaborateness of a house, do not alter its general scheme.

I suppose that, so long as Homer is read by those who are not archaeologists, there will always be a certain number of people who fancy that perhaps there may never have been any real thing corresponding to Homer's descriptions of houses and furniture, armour and ornaments. They imagine that a poet in the Greek heroic age was as capable of forming for himself a fancy society and ideal surroundings as the author of *Idylls of the King* or of *The Coming Race*. To me this view appears to contravene the most fixed laws of historical science. Granted that Homer[2] had imagination and saw as a poet, yet his imagination could only act on the lines of what he saw; could magnify and beautify, but not create. It could not manufacture a new set of surroundings, and had it done so, the *Iliad* would not have survived to our day, but long ago have passed into limbo.

So I have not the smallest doubt as to the real existence of houses like that of Odysseus in the heroic age of Greece. I do not say that one such existed in the barren little island of Ithaca. But that they were to be found in the more fertile and rich valleys of Asia Minor, and even Hellas, is reasonably certain. And the fact becomes every year more comprehensible. Every year we make some new discovery which shows that in prehistoric days Greece and Asia Minor were seats of dynasties of great wealth and outward splendour, with a very flourishing civilisation of a somewhat advanced kind. Even in this volume of the *Journal* Mr. Ramsay is able to publish tombs and altars from Phrygia which bear the undoubted impress of a race which could produce great architectural works and was full of wealth and taste for art of a decorative kind. No doubt at the time the great lion-tombs of Phrygia were carved the Hellenic cousins of the Phrygians were also wealthy and fond of great architectural works. The lions of Mycenae, which to us seem isolated, are probably mere specimens of hundreds of similar works which existed in the Homeric age.

[1] *Il.* xxiii. 712.

[2] In saying this I do not intend to express any opinion as to the unity of origin of the Homeric poems.

But the best proof that the Homeric house had historical reality is to be found in the fact that in the Greek mansion of historical times we can see the descendant of the house of Homer. By consulting Overbeck's *Pompeii* or Becker's *Charicles*, the reader may at a glance see the general arrangement of the Greek historical mansion. It consisted of two courts, one devoted to men, and one to women, each surrounded with rooms, and the two connected by a narrow passage passing by the *ἀνδρών* or eating chamber, the principal room of the men's court. I think it can be shown that the court of the men, the *andronitis*, is the successor of the Homeric *aule*, that the *andron*, or dining room, is the diminished and reduced successor of the Homeric *megaron*, while the position and perhaps the arrangement of the women's quarters is not greatly changed, though their use and importance is increased.

Of the truth of this statement I will offer three proofs. Of these the first arises from the probabilities of the case. A rude farmyard like the *aule*, and a huge rough hall like the *megaron* suited free life in the country and the rough sociability of Homeric times. As the Greeks grew in culture and took to living in cities, the *aule* would naturally become civilised, and the rooms round it become part of the house, while on the other hand the feeding-room of the men would lose its enormous proportions and become a dining-room instead of a feasting-hall. Secondly we find that as a matter of fact, the term *αὐλή* is used by Greek writers to designate the *andronitis*. Thus in a passage of Plutarch[1] we read of a crowd forcing the outer door of a house and rushing across the *αὐλή* into the *θάλαμος*, that is to say passing across the first court into the second or *gynaeconitis*. But the best and most decisive of all proofs that the *ἀνδρωνῖτις* of later Greek houses corresponds to the Homeric *αὐλή*, and the *ἀνδρών* to the Homeric *μέγαρον* is found in the positions of the altars of deities which are evidently the especial features of an ancient house least likely to be changed. In the Homeric house we found the altar of Zeus Herceius in the midst of the *aule*: in the later Greek house the same altar was certainly in the midst of the court of the *andronitis*.[2] In the Homeric house the altar of Hestia was in the *megaron*, and in the historical

[1] *De genio Socr.* 32. Cf. Plato, *Protag.* p. 311, where the word *αὐλή* is similarly used.

[2] Plato, *Repub.* p. 328.

house it was in all probability in the *andron* or dining-room.[1]

I am aware that the views just enunciated are somewhat novel. Writers have been content, in speaking of the Homeric house and of the historical house, to treat them as built on entirely different principles. This, however, appears to me unsatisfactory. The Homeric house certainly existed not merely in the brain of the poet but in reality, and it would naturally be the progenitor of those houses of historical times of which we unfortunately know so little.[2] By placing side by side the ancestor and the descendant we can learn more about both, and do something towards increasing our knowledge of an aspect of ancient Greek life little studied and thought of, and yet surely not one of the least important if our object be to realize the daily life of the Greeks in all its details.

PERCY GARDNER.

P.S.—Since the above was sketched out and partly written, I have read Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's able papers on the subject of the House of Odysseus in the *Architect* for 1877 (Aug. 4th and 11th). As Mr. Lloyd gives no plan and scarcely any references to Homer, my paper even if it covered exactly the same ground as his would not be without use. But this is not the case; my paper and his are different in scope and supplement one another, though in the main agreeing.

[1] Cf. the phrase in *Agam.* v. 1055, Ἑστία μεσόμφαλος. The *andron* was nearly in the centre of the Greek house.

[2] What we do know is set forth clearly by Winckler, *Die Wohnhäuser der Hellenen*; Berlin, 1868.

TELESPHOROS.

THE student of Greek religion and mythology who devoted his attention solely to the more striking figures of the Hellenic Pantheon would very imperfectly apprehend its true extent and character. No doubt the wide-spread cultus and the many-sided nature of its *Dii Majores* give them a pre-eminent claim upon our study, but at the same time we can never leave wholly out of sight those innumerable subordinate beings—whether divine or semi-human—who were created by the exuberant fancy of the Greek, and honoured by his worship. The presence of these lesser gods is felt at every turn: their images are set, as it were, upon every high hill, and under every green tree; and though their personality may often be less interesting than that of the greater deities, nay, though it be sometimes colourless or barely intelligible, our survey of the broad field of Hellenic worship and legend will always remain imperfect so long as we suffer these, its minuter, objects to escape our vision. Thus, for instance, in treating of the great Greek divinity of healing—Asklepios—we cannot afford to ignore those inferior personages who follow in his train and even share his powers. It is of one of these subordinate divinities—the god Telesphoros—that I propose to speak in the present paper.

The aspect of this quaint little deity is familiar enough to the student. He is represented as a child, enshrouded in a mantle with pointed hood: his function—at least according to the common statement—is that of God of Convalescence. Beyond this point, however, our mythological treatises and dictionaries do not carry us very far. The slight and meagre character of their notices may, indeed, be somewhat excused by the fact that the

ancients themselves have left us but scant and unsatisfactory evidence as to the nature of Telesphoros. Yet, at the same time, evidence there undoubtedly is; and, in the absence of any recent monograph on the subject, it may not be considered a wholly unprofitable task if I attempt to group together the various monuments relating to this divinity; at the same time dwelling more than has hitherto been done on the information obtainable from Numismatics.

I. Our knowledge of Telesphoros must be mainly derived from archaeological sources. An often-quoted passage of Pausanias, and a mention in Marinus, the biographer of Proclus, are almost the only testimonies forthcoming in the authors. In the indices to the older editions of Aristides Rhetor which Dindorf appends, without additions, to his own recension of the text, the word 'Telesphorus' is altogether omitted. There are, however, at least five or six references to Telesphoros in the Ἱεροὶ Λόγοι, and these, though only incidental allusions, are not entirely devoid of interest.[1] In Boeckh's collection only two inscriptions refer to Telesphoros, and there is little to be gleaned from other fields. With regard to the non-literary monuments, representations of this god nowhere occur with anything like frequency except upon coins; and it is from coins especially that we are enabled to form some notion as to the extent of the cultus of Telesphoros. Now although Greek coins can never be treated as if their original destination was to serve as commemorative religious medals, it will certainly be found that they constantly offer, even in the Imperial age, very valuable evidence as to the religious history of the individual cities by which they were issued, and of which they are, for us, the authorised and well-authenticated representatives. One or two groups in marble of Asklepios and Telesphoros are in existence,[2]

[1] *Aristides ex recens. Gul. Dindorfii*, Lipsiae, 1829. 3 vols. 8vo. Vol. i. p. 467, p. 472, p. 492, p. 494, p. 506, p. 516 [vol. i. p. 539, Τελεσφόρος ὀρεωκόμος]. According to Waddington (*Mem. sur le Chronol. de la Vie du Rhet. Ael. Aristid.*, Paris, 1867), Aristides was born in A.D. 117 and died in A.D. 185. His Ἱεροὶ Λόγοι were written in A.D. 175, the illness which forms their subject lasting from A.D. 144 to 161.

[2] The marble statuette in the Louvre called Telesphoros by Clarac (*Mus. de Sculpt.* tom. iv. p. 13, Pl. 334, n. 1165, and Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmäler*, Th. ii. n. 787) cannot be so named with any real certainty.

and statuettes of the latter perhaps occur in bronze.[1] The image of Telesphoros is said to appear frequently among the figures in terra-cotta, though I have only discovered a single undoubted instance in the collection of the British Museum.[2] On gems, Telesphoros is occasionally to be found, and he appears once on a tablet of ivory. In the vase-paintings he is never seen.

II. The origin of Telesphoros is involved in some obscurity, but every reason impels us to believe that the name Telesphoros was applied to a divinity for the first time[3] in the local cultus of the city of Pergamon. Aristides speaks of Telesphoros as *ὁ Περγαμηνός*,[4] and Pausanias[5] in a passage which it is convenient here to cite in full affords a similar indication: he is speaking of certain sacrifices in the Asklepian temple at Titane in Sikyon, which was built by Alexanor the grandson of Asklepios:—*τῷ δὲ Ἀλεξάνορι καὶ Εὐαμερίωνι (καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἀγάλματά ἐστι) τῷ μὲν ὡς ἥρωϊ μετὰ ἥλιον δύναντα ἐναγίζουσιν· Εὐαμερίωνι δὲ ὡς θεῷ θύουσιν. εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς εἰκάζω, τὸν Εὐαμερίωνα τοῦτον Περγαμηνοὶ Τελεσφόρον ἐκ μαντεύματος, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ Ἀκέσιον ὀνομάζουσι.*

Whence, then, was derived this god to whom the Pergamenes gave the especial appellation of Telesphoros? Was he an indigenous divinity of their city, resembling (at least in Pausanias's opinion) two subordinate divinities of Titane and

[1] The attribution of the two small bronze figures labelled Telesphoros in the British Museum (Bronze Room, Wall Case 42) appears to me extremely doubtful. The absence of head-covering, the arrangement of the mantle, and the action of the hands do not agree with those representations which we know to be undoubtedly of Telesphoros. The *provenance* of these two statuettes is unknown. Michaelis mentions a small bronze statue of 'Telesphoros' as existing in the collection at Castle Howard (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 331, No. 56), but he does not describe it.

[2] Biardot, *Les Terres-cuites Grecques funèbres*, Paris, 1878, p. 448. The small figure in the British Museum in Table Case A of the Third Vase Room ($\frac{77}{4}$ (registration mark $12 - 7$)) is, also very likely a Telesphoros. In M. J. Martha's *Catalogue des Figurines en Terre Cuite du Musée de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes* (Paris, 1880), Nos. 147—153 are described as representing Telesphoros. At any rate in the case of Nos. 147, 148, there can be no doubt about the correctness of the attribution.

[3] See Pape, *Wörterbuch der Griech. Eigennamen* (3rd edit.), s.v. Τελεσφόρος, for several instances of Telesphoros as a man's name—the general of Antigonus, &c.

[4] Vol i. p. 467 (ed. Dindorf).

[5] Vol. ii. 11, 7 (ed. Sieblelis).

Epidauros, who at a certain period had his original name solemnly changed to that of Telesphoros? Such at any rate would seem to be the opinion of certain modern writers, who, relying on the fact that the Cabiri were the oldest divinities of Pergamon, have supposed that Telesphoros must himself have originally been one of them.[1] This Cabiric origin of our god, though not impossible, cannot, however, be proved; and on the other hand, we may interpret the statement of Pausanias to mean that the god whom the Pergamenes called Telesphoros was *identical* with Euamerion of Titane and Akesios of Epidauros—having been merely imported from Hellas Proper and then re-named by the Asiatic city. In favour of such a view of the origin of Telesphoros it may fairly be urged that the Asklepian worship of Pergamon, with which that of Telesphoros was very closely connected, had been itself introduced from Epidauros, and that, therefore, the worship of the subordinate Epidaurian medical divinity, Akesios, may very well have been introduced from the same source—his name being subsequently changed to Telesphoros in obedience to an oracle. And that there was some special affinity between Akesios and Telesphoros may be gathered from a further source—from a hymn to Telesphoros[2] (belonging probably to the third century A.D.), in which it is precisely stated that the god worshipped at Athens as Telesphoros was celebrated by the Epidaurians under the name of Akesis.

But whatever the real origin of Telesphoros may have been—whether he was a native divinity of Pergamon, or only the Epidaurian Akesios under a new name—it is certain that Pergamon was the principal centre from which his worship gradually spread, and with which he was in an especial manner connected. We cannot, however, trace his existence at that city or elsewhere before the beginning of the second century of our era. The Asklepios worship of Pergamon was certainly flourishing under the successors of Philetairos (B.C. 283—B.C. 133),[3] but there is no record of Telesphoros there until the time

[1] Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.* tom. iv. (text), p. 2. Cp. Curtius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte u. Topog. Kleinasiens*, p. 48.

[2] Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1027, lines 35, 36.

[3] In a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (vol. ii. 3rd series, 1882, pp. 1–51), I have discussed in detail the Asklepian worship of Pergamon as illustrated by the coinage of the city from B.C. 400 to A.D. 268.

of Hadrian (A.D. 117—138). It is then that he first appears on a coin of the city which bears the emperor's head on the obverse, and the image of Telesphoros clad in his characteristic costume on the reverse.[1] No coins or other monuments can well be assigned to a period earlier than this of our Pergamene specimen,[2] and most of them belong to a time manifestly later. Upon the money of Pergamon itself, the figure of Telesphoros is seen with far greater frequency than on the currency of any other city which portrays this deity. During the period from Hadrian to Gallienus (A.D. 117—268) there occur at least fifteen distinct sets of coins representing Telesphoros.[3] At an important moment for the Asklepios worship of Pergamon—the occasion when the Emperor Caracalla paid a special visit to the

[1] *Num. Chron.* 3rd series, 1882, p. 26 (Brit. Mus. Coll.).

[2] I ought not to pass over in silence a coin of the Gaulish Segusiavi which was probably issued during the period B.C. 58–B.C. 27, and which Kenner (*Die Münzsam. des Stiftes St. Flor.* pp. 1–3) and other numismatists consider to offer a representation of Telesphoros.

Obv. SEGVSIAV Helmeted male head r., spear on shoulder.

Rev. ARVS Hercules standing, holding in right hand club, his left placed upon the shoulder of a small figure who stands on a pedestal, wrapped in a mantle, with his head bare.

Æ, size ·55, weight about 25 grains, Brit. Mus. Coll. (cp. Kenner, *op. cit.* Pl. I. No. 1).

Now it is, *à priori*, exceedingly unlikely that we should find a representation of Telesphoros at this time and place, but of course if the figure on the coin were *identical* with that of the ordinary Telesphoros, we should be obliged to give prominence to the fact, however difficult its explanation might be. But the representation before us is by no means that of the ordinary Telesphoros. In the first place the small figure is found in company with a divinity who seems to be Herakles. Now with Herakles Telesphoros is never associated, Kenner's explanation of the union of the two gods being quite inadmissible. And it may be added that the explanation of the type is further complicated by the legend ARVS, an inscription which has never been satisfactorily interpreted. With regard to the small figure it will further be noticed that his head is bare, and the absence of any head-covering is extremely uncommon in the case of Telesphoros. Of the clothing of the figure I think two distinct representations can be made out on this set of coins. On some specimens he plainly wears a mantle not unlike that worn by Telesphoros, but on others the body is covered with a long, *tight-fitting* garment which is dotted on the surface (perhaps to indicate a woollen texture) and striped down the middle. I cannot admit, then, that this figure is Telesphoros; probably we have only a representation of the simulacrum of some local divinity.

[3] Mionnet, *Description*, tom. ii. 'Pergamus'; *sup.* tom. v. 'Pergamus.' Telesphoros occurs on Pergamene coins of Hadrian, Aelius Caesar, Ant. Pius, M. Aurelius, Commodus, Caracalla, Geta, and Gallienus.

temple of the healing god—we find Telesphoros receiving his share of the homage paid by the Roman sovereign to the superior divinity.[1] We can further, by means of the coins, trace his presence in the city as late as the time of Gallienus, at which period the Pergamene currency comes to an end. In Pergamon there was an *ἄγαλμα* of Telesphoros,[2] placed perhaps in a shrine similar to one which is represented on the coins of Pergamon.[3] But though in this his native city the god is sometimes brought before us independently, his cultus evidently formed an integral part of the Asklepian worship of the place. Thus he is presented on a coin of Aelius Caesar in company with the greater god of healing,[4] or he appears as the companion of Asklepios and Hygieia.[5]

III. In order to estimate the area over which the Telesphoric cultus eventually spread, we have (as was before stated) to rely almost entirely upon numismatic evidence. Though it is always more satisfactory to bring forward the evidence of coins when it is substantiated by evidence derived from other classes of monuments, still, from this single source, we may, for our present purpose, reasonably infer several interesting particulars. It would appear that the worship of the Pergamene god was not long confined to its original seat but soon made its way into several districts of Asia Minor. Telesphoros was indeed a local and subordinate deity, but his worship (as we have already stated) was closely bound up with that of the far greater divinity Asklepios—a god whose cultus, in the imperial age, had its principal seat at Pergamon, and who was widely and conspicuously honoured by the cities of Asia Minor. Wherever, therefore, the worship of the Pergamene Asklepios became known, that of Telesphoros would in all probability become almost equally familiar. In the reign of the Emperor Antoninus, Telesphoros appears in Bithynia at Nicaea,[6] and in Mysia at

[1] *Num. Chron.* vol ii. (1882), 3rd series, pp. 45-47; Pl. III. No. 7. Mion. tom. ii. p. 612, No. 635.

[2] Aristid. vol. i. p. 506. Cp. i. p. 532, and i. p. 494.

[3] *Num. Chron.* vol. ii. 3rd series, Pl. I. No. 18. Cp. Mion. tom. ii. p. 599, n. 568 (Ant. Pius); Mion. *sup.* tom. v. p. 467, n. 1138 (Geta).

[4] *Num. Chron.* vol. ii. 3rd series, p. 35.

[5] On Pergamene coins of M. Aurelius (Mion. tom. ii. p. 600, n. 574; Caracalla (Mion. *sup.* tom. v. p. 459, n. 1102); Gallienus (Mion. *sup.* tom. v. p. 475, n. 1170).

[6] Mion. *sup.* tom. v. p. 90, No. 467; *ib.* p. 88, No. 449.

Perperene.[1] It is probable that at this time his worship was also established in other cities of the latter region, and even in parts of Lydia. A number of small copper coins having the figure of Telesphoros on their reverse, and, for the most part, the head of Pallas or Herakles on the obverse, are found inscribed with the names of several Mysian and Lydian cities. They evidently all belong to precisely the same period, but the exact date of their issue cannot be determined. It may possibly, to judge from style, have been in the reign of Antoninus, though it might be put as late as the time of Septimius.[2] At the city of Smyrna, Telesphoros must have been known at any rate as early as the time of Aristides.[3] At Cyzicus he appears, on a coin of Faustina Junior, in company with Asklepios and Hygieia.[4] In the reign of Septimius Severus he is seen in Phrygia on the coins of Cotiaeum[5] and Synnada,[6] as well as in Pisidia on money of Apollonia Mordiaeum.[7] The god was known also in Lesbos[8] and Samos;[9] in Caria,[10] Cilicia,[11] Pamphylia,[12] and Lycia.[13] The worship of Telesphoros, which thus—to judge from coins—seems to have been distributed through many cities in various parts of Asia Minor, probably hardly flourished elsewhere. Its presence is, however, to be detected in Thrace,

[1] *Rev.* Telesphoros standing, holding in r. bunch of grapes. Æ. Brit. Mus. Coll.

[2] *Mysia:* Gargara (Mion. tom. ii. p. 552, n. 249); Pitane (Mion. tom. ii. p. 627, n. 718, and Brit. Mus. Coll.); Poroselene (Mion. tom. ii. p. 629, n. 731); Germe (*obv.* Head of Hermes, *rev.* Telesphoros standing. Æ. Brit. Mus.). *Aeolis:* Elaea (*obv.* Head of Pallas, *rev.* Telesphoros standing. Æ. Brit. Mus.); Myrina (similar types. Æ. Brit. Mus. also with *obv.* Head of Herakles, and *obv.* Lyre. Brit. Mus.); *Lydia:* Acrasos (*obv.* Head of Pallas, *rev.* Telesphoros standing. Æ. Brit. Mus.); Attalia (*rev.* Telesphoros standing, *obv.* Head of Pallas (Mion.), also *obv.* Head of Herakles. Brit. Mus.); Hyrcania (*rev.* Telesphoros standing, *obv.* Head of Pallas (Mion.), also *obv.* Head of Herakles. Brit. Mus.); Gordus Julia (*obv.* Head of Herakles, *rev.* Telesphoros standing. Æ. Brit. Mus.).

[3] Aristid. vol. i. p. 472. The Asklepios worship of Smyrna was derived from Pergamon. Paus. ii. 26, 7.

[4] Mion. tom. ii. p. 542, n. 194.

[5] Brit. Mus. Coll. *rev.* Hygieia, Telesphoros, Asklepios.

[6] Mion. tom. iv. p. 369, n. 993.

[7] Waddington, *Voyage numismat. en Asie-Mineure*, p. 143, No. 10.

[8] Mion. tom. iii. p. 44, n. 89; *sup.* tom. vi. p. 69, N. 110 (Mytilene).

[9] See Mion. t. iii. p. 297, n. 267.

[10] Waddington, *ubi sup.* p. 133, n. 2 (Apollonia-Salbake); Bargasa (Cariae). Æ. Brit. Mus. Coll. *obv.* ΙΕΡΑ ΒΟΥΛΗ, veiled female head r.; *rev.* ΒΑΡΓΑΣΗΝΩΝ, Telesphoros standing facing. Cp. Mion. *sup.* tom. vi. p. 476, No. 195.

[11] Tarsus; Aegae (see Mionnet).

[12] Copper coin of Gallienus, Brit. Mus. Coll.

[13] This may be gathered from Marinus, *Vit. Procli.* vii.

where Asklepios was certainly well-known. Telesphoros here first appears on the coins of Pautalia,[1] in the reign of Commodus; and a little later he is seen on the money of Nicopolis,[2] Hadrianopolis,[3] Deultum,[4] Bizya,[5] and Philippopolis.[6] It is just possible that his worship may have reached the adjacent islands: at any rate a marble relief (of a late period), representing the god standing beside Asklepios, was discovered by Prof. Conze in Imbros.[7] In Hellas Proper, the god seems to have been known (at least under the name Telesphoros) only in a single city. This was at Athens, where we first find him mentioned in certain inscriptions assignable to the beginning of the third century A.D. One of these is an Ephebic inscription of the time of Septimius Severus, which was found at Athens and is printed in the work of Dumont.[8] In this text the god Telesphoros seems to be regarded as a *συνέφηβος* with mortal men, and to be honoured by the inscription, in which his name, together with that of twelve *συστρεμματάρχαι*, is solemnly recorded. Another Athenian inscription,[9] belonging, no doubt, to about the same period, preserves for us an actual hymn to Telesphoros, and from certain expressions therein, it may be gathered that the god had rendered some special service to the Athenians in staying a pestilence, on the occasion of which, it may be reasonably supposed, the worship of the outlandish deity was first introduced. The cultus of the new god would fall easily into its place beside the old-established Athenian cults of Asklepios and Hygieia.[10] In the inscription just referred to his name is associated with that of Paean, who is apparently

[1] Mion. *sup.* tom. ii. p. 373, n. 1010 (Commodus); *ib.*, p. 385, n. 1087 (Caracalla).

[2] Mion. *sup.* tom. ii. p. 127, n. 415 (Sept. Severus).

[3] Mion. tom. i. p. 387, n. 151 (Geta).

[4] Mion. *sup.* tom. ii. p. 282, n. 478 (Diadumenianus).

[5] Brit. Mus. *Cat. Grk. Coins, Thrace*, 'Bizya,' No. 8; Mion. tom. i. p. 375, n. 78; cp. *sup.* tom. ii. p. 236, n. 185 (Philip I.).

[6] Mion. *sup.* tom. ii. p. 469, n. 1577. Possibly also on coins of Serdica; see Mion. *sup.* tom. ii. p. 490, nos. 1691, 1692, and Kenner, *Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian*, p. 20.

[7] *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* von A. Conze, Hannover, 1860, p. 84 and Pl. XV. No. 4.

[8] *Essai sur l'Éphébie Attique*, vol. ii. p. 356, No. 97*a*; cp. *ib.* vol. ii. p. 132, and vol. i. p. 315 and p. 232. It was originally published by Koumanoudes in the *Φιλίστωρ*, vol. iii. p. 549 *ff.*

[9] Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1027.

[10] P. Girard, *L'Asclépieion d'Athènes passim.*

Asklepios, and the hymn is inscribed on the same stone as two others addressed to the god of medicine and his daughter. Another inscription (on a mutilated Hermes-pillar), which is also Athenian and perhaps of the same period, has been restored with much probability as Ὑγείᾳ καὶ κλυτῷ Τελεσφόρῳ.[1] It may be added that two terra-cotta figures of Telesphoros have been found in Attica, one of them, indeed, among the ruins of the Asklepieion at Athens.[1a] As the Athenian temple of Asklepios was still intact about the middle of the fifth century A.D.,[2] it is not unlikely that, even then, Telesphoros was still honoured by the presence of worshippers. There is some evidence to show that, at any rate in Lycia, Telesphoros was still known as late as the beginning of the century just referred to.[3]

The worship of the god is thus, so far as we can trace it, confined to Asia Minor, to Athens, and to certain cities of Thrace. It was probaby never established in Rome. On the coins of the Imperial city Telesphoros occurs but once, and his appearance is there evidently exceptional. For when the Emperor Caracalla had visited the Pergamene temple of Asklepios in A.D. 214, he commemorated the event by portraying his sacrifice to Asklepios on the Roman *Aurei*[4] of the next year; while on his bronze[5] and silver[6] money minted at the same time he introduced the figure of Asklepios and placed beside him the young Telesphoros—doubtless as being a divinity especially reverenced at Pergamon. From these coins, however, we can hardly argue any Roman cultus of Telesphoros.

IV. With regard to the representation of Telesphoros in art, we find—on the extant monuments—that he is most commonly represented either alone, or in company with Asklepios and Hygieia. Sometimes he appears with Asklepios only; though very rarely with Hygieia alone. His dress and attitude remain

[1] Neubauer, cited by Kaibel, *Epigram. Graec.* No. 1027.

[1a] Martha, *Cat. des Fig. en Terre Cuite de la Soc. Arch. d'Athènes*, Nos. 147, 148. Style of art, late.

[2] Marinus, *Vit. Procli.* xxix.; cp. Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 346.

[3] Marinus, *Vit. Procli.* vii. It should be remarked that as the imperial coinage of the Greek cities ceases about the time of Gallienus (A.D. 268), there is no complete information to be gained from numismatics as to *how late* Telesphoros continued to be worshipped in various places.

[4] *Num. Chron.* 3rd series, vol. ii. Pl. III. No. 3.

[5] Brit. Mus. Coll.

[6] *Num. Chron.* 3rd series, vol. ii. Pl. I. No. 21.

throughout almost unvaried. A mantle, attached to which is a more or less pointed hood, well-nigh conceals his head and body: this garment, however, never reaches below the ankles and sometimes hardly falls lower than the knees. In one instance the head is bare, but the hood is still seen hanging down behind.[1] Telesphoros has always the stature and appearance of a child, the face wearing a somewhat meaningless expression. In the terra-cotta statuette in the British Museum[2] the mouth is open and curly hair is to be seen beneath the hood clustering over the forehead and about the ears. Almost always our divinity is represented standing and facing the spectator: his arms are muffled in the mantle so that their outline can scarcely be made out. On coins, the figure is not unfrequently placed upon a pedestal, so that Telesphoros generally has more the appearance of a mere *simulacrum* than of a real divinity who lives and moves. There seems to be no special Telesphoric emblem or attribute. It is to be noted, however, that on one occasion Telesphoros holds before him an unrolled scroll,[3] while in a marble group of himself and Asklepios there stands on the ground behind him a small cylindrical case containing two rolls.[4] In another group of Asklepios and Telesphoros there hangs from the neck of the latter a square tablet or packet which may represent (it has been suggested) the case in which was kept a spell or charm inscribed on parchment.[5] Aristides,[6] in recounting one of his elaborate dreams, speaks of certain mysterious writings being intrusted to a muleteer named Telesphoros. This Telesphoros is not the god; but perhaps it is not fanciful to suppose that the pious dreamer may actually have had in his head the *god* Telesphoros and his scrolls.[7]

[1] Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmäler*, Th. ii. No. 790.

[2] Fourth Vase Room, Wall Case No. 58 (from the Temple Collection; no memorandum as to *provenance*).

[3] Wieseler-Müller, *Denkm.* Th. ii. No. 792; Maskell, *Ivories*, p. 21.

[4] Wieseler-Müller, *Denkm.* Th. ii. No. 790; Panofka, *Ask. u. die Asklep.* p. 357.

[5] *Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculptures* in British Museum, pt. ii. (1876), p. 13, No. 27.

[6] Vol. i. pp. 539–540 (ed. Dindorf).

[7] On the reverse of a coin of Perperene in Mysia (*obv.* Head of Antoninus Pius; Brit. Mus. Coll. Æ.) Telesphoros holds in his right hand a bunch of grapes. This, however, is not to be regarded as an attribute peculiar to Telesphoros, for the bunch of grapes *alone* is the ordinary type of the coins of Perperene. When, therefore, a new type—Telesphoros—was introduced on its currency, a kind of compromise was made with the older type; and the bunch of grapes, though ousted from its position on coins as the town-arms,

Although, on coins, Telesphoros is often found alone, the representation which seems to have been the favourite one is that in which he appears in company with Asklepios and Hygieia. Hygieia, on the left of the scene, stands feeding her serpent from a patera, her head turned towards the right as if conversing with Asklepios, who, leaning on his snake-encircled staff, stands opposite looking upon his daughter. Between them is seen the figure of the little Telesphoros[1] who stands, facing, with a determined air, although reaching no higher than the top of the great god's staff. This is the well-known group which is given on coins of Pergamon,[2] and which is repeated on the money of many Asiatic and Thracian cities; sometimes also occurring on gems.[3] This union in art of Asklepios, Hygieia and Telesphoros points, moreover, to their close connexion in actual cultus. They formed, in fact, a kind of Pergamene Triad, and the two lesser divinities had at Pergamon their share in the temple of Asklepios.[4] In a dedicatory inscription found at Verona[5] the three are coupled together as *θεοῖς σωτῆρσι Ἀσκληπιῷ Περγαμηνῷ, Ὑγείᾳ, Τελεσφορίωνι.*[6] It is before these three divinities that (on one of the coins inscribed **ΝΕΙΚΑΕΩΝ ΚΙΑΒΙΑΝΩΝ**[7]) the Emperor Caracalla is seen sacrificing, holding his patera over a lighted altar. On certain coins of Bizya, in Thrace, we again find the three deities in company, but the picture is more elaborate. The god Apollo is added to the group of healing divinities, and beneath one of his extended arms stands Telesphoros, beneath the other, the "egg," or the *omphalos*, entwined with a serpent.[8] On another Bizyan coin, Asklepios is found seated near a tree,

was still retained in the hands of the new divinity.

[1] On the reverse of a coin of Nicaea (Bithyniae) in the Vatican, (sulphur cast in Brit. Mus., *obv.* Head of L. Verus; cp. Mion. tom. ii. p. 455, n. 242) the group is (exceptionally) arranged thus: Hygieia (l.), Asklepios in centre, Telesphoros (r.).

[2] Mion. tom. ii. p. 600, No. 574, &c.

[3] Raspe, *Cat. Tassie*, No. 4114; Toelken, *Erklärendes Verzeichniss der ant. vertieft geschnittenen Steine der Königl. Preussischen Gemeinsammlung*, Berlin, 1835; No. 1207, p. 216.

[4] Aristid. (ed. Dind.), vol. i. p. 506.

[5] *C. I. G.* No. 6753. 'Cui urbi tribuenda inscriptio non liquet.'—Boeckh.

[6] On a wonderful tripod which Aristides was to dedicate to Zeus Asklepios, there were three golden images of Asklepios, Hygieia, and Telesphoros, one on each foot. Aristid. vol. i. p. 516.

[7] Kenner, *Die Münzsam. des Stiftes St. Florian*, Pl. IV. n. 18; cp. pp. 160-162.

[8] Brit. Mus. *Cat. Grk. Coins, Thrace*, 'Bizya,' No. 8.

holding in his right hand a patera into which a veiled female figure seems to be pouring a libation; opposite him is seated Hygieia with Telesphoros by her side.[1]

When not appearing alone, or taking his place in the Triad, Telesphoros is sometimes to be found as the companion of Asklepios.[2] It is not improbable that the lesser divinity, whatever his real origin may have been, was brought (at least in the popular belief) into actual blood-relationship with the greater—Telesphoros becoming the *son* of Asklepios, just as Asklepios himself became the son of Apollo, an earlier and not less potent god of healing. That Telesphoros was the son of Asklepios seems to have been the belief which obtained, at any rate at Athens, in the third century, A.D.[3] In one of the dreams recounted by Aristides,[4] Asklepios is represented as appearing in company with Telesphoros, and perhaps Aristides was only dreaming of some actually existing sculptured group of Asklepios and Telesphoros such as may be seen to this day in the museums of London and Paris. A marble statue in the Louvre,[5] and another in the British Museum,[6] represent the subordinate god standing beside the greater deity: on the relief found in Imbros,[7] Telesphoros is also seen at the side of Asklepios, as well as on an ivory tablet belonging probably to the third century.[8] A similar representation occurs on coins of Pergamon,[8a] Perga,[9] and Rome.[10] The close connexion of the

[1] Mion. tom. i. 375, No. 78; cp. *sup.* tom. ii. p. 236, n. 185.

[2] On coins of Hierapolis (Phrygiae) the image of Telephorus is placed behind a seated figure of *Hygieia*; Æ. Brit. Mus. Col.; Waddington, *Voy. num. en As. Min.* Pl. IV. No. 18; Mion. tom. iv. p. 305, No. 634.

[3] Inscription in the Φιλίστωρ, p. 549 *ff.* (Τελέσφορος Ἀσκληπιοῦ); cp. Dumont, *Essai sur l'Eph. att.* tom. ii. p. 356. See also Kaibel, *Epigram. Graec.* No. 1027, lines 24, 25. We read, however, of Aristides being directed in a dream by the god of medicine to dedicate a ring to Telesphoros, ἐπιγράψαι δὲ εἰς τὴν σφενδόνην τοῦ δακτυλίου, Κρόιου παῖ. Aristid. vol. i. p. 472 (ed. Dindorf).

[4] Aristid. vol. i. p. 492.

[5] Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmäler*, Th. ii. n. 790. Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.* tom. iv. p. 12 *ff.* Pl. CCXCIV. n. 1164.

[6] Brit. Mus. *Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, pt. ii. (1876), p. 13, No. 27.

[7] Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres*, p. 84 and Pl. XV. No. 4.

[8] Wieseler-Müller, *Denkm.*, Th. ii., No. 792.

[8a] Æ. Brit. Mus. Coll. *obv.* Aelius Caesar.

[9] *Obv.* Head and titles of Gallienus, *rev.* ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ, Asklepios with staff standing looking l.; on his left side Telesphoros holding with his right hand the *himation* of the other god; Æ. Brit. Mus. Coll.

[10] *Denarius* of Caracalla, *Num. Chron.* 3rd series, vol. ii. Pl. I. No. 21, and *dupondius* of Caracalla, Brit. Mus. Coll.

cults of Asklepios and Telesphoros is still further indicated by a coin of Aegae, in Cilicia,[1] on which the two appear standing side by side in a hexastyle temple; and by the money of Pergamon,[2] on which they may be seen receiving the adoration of the Emperor Caracalla.

V. After thus enumerating the various representations of Telesphoros in art, and the regions to which his worship extended, we naturally hasten to inquire into the actual nature of that worship, and the particular functions of the deity to whom it was addressed. It is singularly unfortunate that both Pausanias and Aristides, to whom we owe so many interesting details as to the sanctuaries and ritual of Asklepios, should preserve a silence almost unbroken as to the cultus of Telesphoros. We learn indeed from the latter author—what we surmise also from other sources—that the worship of Telesphoros was bound up very closely with that of Asklepios and Hygieia, and we gather that Telesphoros was treated as something more than a mere subordinate hero. He has his shrine and his statue,[3] and he is honoured (apparently) with dedicatory offerings:[4] on a copper coin of the Bithynian Nicaea—a city which, to judge from the frequent representations of Telesphoros upon its money, seems to have estimated the god almost as highly as did Pergamon itself[5]—Telesphoros is even honoured with the appellation θεός, ΘΕΩ ΤΕΛΕCΦΟΡΩ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙC runs the inscription.[6] A specimen (though not perhaps a very favourable one) of the kind of hymns addressed to the god is still extant, sculptured on stone. This curious composition has been best edited by Kaibel,[7] and it is also to be found in the collection of Boeckh.[8] The latter not unfairly stigmatises it as 'ejus aetatis, qua titulus exaratus, proles deterrima': in fact it was evidently inscribed, and probably composed, at a sufficiently late period by some not very literate ministers of the sanctuary. The stone was found

[1] Mion. *sup.* tom. vii. p. 164, n. 66.

[2] *Num. Chron.* 3rd series, vol. ii. p. 47, and Pl. III. No. 7; Mion. tom. ii. p. 612, No. 635.

[3] Aristid. vol i. p. 494; *ib.* p. 506.

[4] Aristid. vol. i. p. 472.

[5] Mion. *sup.* tom. v. p. 88, n. 449 (Ant. Pius); Mion. *sup.* tom. v. p. 93, n. 487 (M. Aurelius); Mion. tom. ii. p. 455, n. 241 (L. Verus), &c. Telesphoros occurs at least eleven times on the imperial coins of Nicaea, from Ant. Pius to Hostilianus.

[6] Mion. *sup.* tom. v. p. 90, n. 467.

[7] *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1027.

[8] *C. I. G.* No. 511, and *Addenda*, p. 913.

in the neighbourhood of Athens, and we have already referred to it as furnishing evidence of the existence of a Telesphoric cult in that city about the beginning of the third century of our era. The inscription consists of three parts: (1) An exordium addressed to Asklepios; (2) a hymn to Hygieia, which is also preserved for us by Athenaeus; (3) the hymn to Telesphoros, written partly in anapaestic metre, partly in hexameters. Telesphoros is here invoked by his priests in magniloquent language, but the conventional character of the epithets and phrases employed[1] renders this composition comparatively unimportant for the historical student. The god is spoken of as bringing to mortals a remedy for hateful pains: he is identified with the Epidaurian Ἀκέσιος, and specially commemorated for repelling a plague from the Athenians.

VI. The nature and functions of Telesphoros have been somewhat dogmatically defined by various modern writers on mythology, who have been content to base their assertions almost entirely upon the etymology of the name Telesphoros. The view which has obtained most widely is that which regards Telesphoros as a divinity of *convalescence*—one whose office it is to complete the kindly work already begun by Asklepios. In addition to this view there are several others to which reference may here be made. In the first place there are the two distinct theories propounded by Gerhard in his *Griechische Mythologie*, according to which Telesphoros is either a Pergamene *Lichtgott* of the Dawn,[2] or a phallic Genius of generation.[3] But both these theories are very slenderly supported by evidence. The traces of any solar functions being exercised by Telesphoros are of the very faintest. In the passage of Pausanias about this god,[4] it will be remembered that he indicates a close resemblance as existing between Telesphoros and a divinity of Titane named Euamerion. Of Euamerion we know only that he was honoured with sacrifices as a god and that he was associated with Alexanor, the grandson of Asklepios to whom sacrifices were offered, after sunset, as a hero. Because

[1] Expressions, for instance, like δῶτορ ἐάων, ἄναξ, κλεινέ, μάκαρ.

[2] Gerhard, *Gr. Myth.* § 506; cp. Creuzer, *Rel. de l'Ant.* (ed. Guigniant), book v. p. 342.

[3] Gerhard, *Gr. Myth.* § 503.

[4] Paus. ii. 11, 7.

Alexanor the Hero was worshipped after sunset, it has been assumed[1] that his associate Euamerion the god was worshipped at daybreak. Pausanias, however, says nothing about a morning sacrifice, and the etymology of the name Euamerion, which, according to Welcker[2] would imply *mildness*, or according to Preller[3] *good health*, adds nothing in support of the theory which makes Euamerion (or Telesphoros) a god of light. The theory as to the phallic nature of Telesphoros rests, I believe, almost entirely upon the evidence offered by a single monument. This is a curious bronze statuette[4] representing a boy in the act of walking. He wears a *chiton* tucked up high above the knees and a short mantle, the pointed hood of which rises into a very tall peak. The upper part of this figure lifts off like a cover and discloses a phallus. This image, it will be noticed, differs from the ordinary representations of Telesphoros, and its attribution is not much assisted by its inscription **OMOPION**, which has not hitherto been very satisfactorily explained.[5] Probably, however, it is intended for Telesphoros: the tall peak of the hood, which is not seen in other representations of the god, being evidently in this instance an external symbol of the phallus beneath.[6] Among the theories of those writers who have striven to arrive at the true nature of Telesphoros by questioning the etymology of his name, that of Welcker (which was based upon a suggestion of Boeckh's) is decidedly the most

[1] Panofka, *Asklepios u. die Asklep.* p. 334. Gerhard calls Euamerion 'Helfer in Morgenzeit.'

[2] *Griech. Götterl.* vol. ii. p. 739.

[3] *Griech. Mythol.* vol. i. p. 411.

[4] Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmäler*, Th. ii. n. 789 *a* and *b*.

[5] Cp. Panofka, *Ask. u. die Asklep.* p. 324 and p. 357.

[6] K. O. Müller supposed that the carefully wrapped figure of Telesphoros, as seen in the ordinary images of the god, indicated 'hidden vital power' (*Archäol.* § 394, 3). I may here, perhaps, insert a mention of the curious reverse-type of a copper coin of Samos (*obv.* Head of Trajan Decius, see Mion. tom. iii. p. 297, n. 267. Sulphur cast in Brit. Mus.). This presents us with a group consisting of Asklepios and Hygieia, with a small figure standing between them, who at first sight appears to be Telesphoros. This figure, however, does not wear the ordinary mantle of our divinity, but the distinguishing dress of Atys—the Phrygian cap and a garment open in front in an obscene manner. It is possible that this remarkable substitution of Atys for Telesphoros may point to some real similarity in the character of the two divinities, but at the same time it is equally possible that the substitution may arise from a mere *mistake* of the Samian coin-engraver, who, not being familiar with the precise details of the Telesphoric costume, may have drawn the well-known Atys as the nearest approach.

ingenious.[1] Telesphoros, we are told, is to be connected with τελεσφορία, the Initiation, and with τελεταί, the mystic rites,[2] which had at Pergamon so much importance in the treatment of the sick faithful: even the dress of Telesphoros may, it is hinted, be borrowed from the peculiar garb assumed by the initiated. But even if we can accept this derivation there seems to be no proof that anything like systematic *mysteries* were celebrated at Pergamon in connection with Asklepios.[3] It is true that for the patients who frequented its Asklepieion a halo of mystery gathered round the half rational, half ceremonial, treatment of the priestly physicians; and that the sick man awaited in sleep a divine revelation of the remedy suited to his malady. But this practice of incubation was not confined to Pergamon, but obtained, as is well known, in other sanctuaries of the god of healing: and if Telesphoros were in any special manner the presiding genius of mysterious initiations, we should certainly expect to find this his particular office enlarged upon in the strangely detailed dreams and experiences of the devout Aristides. In the Ἱεροὶ Λόγοι, however, Telesphoros nowhere distinctly appears in such a connection: and plausible as Welcker's derivation at first sight appears, it would be hazardous to accept it as giving a true theory of the functions of Telesphoros.

This derivation stands, however, alone; and nearly all the writers on Greek mythology—among them Maury and Preller—prefer to explain the name by τελεσφορέω in the sense of 'bringing to a head' or 'completing.' Telesphoros is the god who completes, who brings to perfection, the work begun by Asklepios. He is thus the genius of convalescence who accomplishes the cure[4]: his very dress is that of the carefully muffled patient who is just

[1] Welcker, *Griech. Götterl.* vol. ii. p. 740; Boeckh, *C. I. G.* vol. i. p. 479.

[2] Cp. Suidas, *s.v.* Τελεσφόρος· τέλειος μάντις, ἐγγαστρίμυθος.

[3] We must not, I think, press the passage in Aristides (ed. S. Jebb, vol. i. p. 520) about initiation ὑπὸ τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ τελειωτάτῳ δᾳδούχῳ καὶ μυσταγωγῷ, to mean as much as this.

[4] Preller, *Griech. Mythol.* vol. i. p. 411; Maury, *Hist. des Relig.* vol. i. p. 450 (note); cp. Damascius, quoted by F. Creuzer in his edition of Cicero, *De nat. deor.* (1818), p. 614 (note). The writer of the short article 'Telesphorus' in Pauly's *Encyklopädie* remarks: 'Dem Wesen Euamerion und Telesphoros liegen die allgemeinen Begriffe der physischen, ethischen und religiösen Vollendung zu Grunde, die aber sämmtlich in der Idee eines ärtzlichen Heilands zusammenschmelzen.'

recovering from his illness and is anxious to avoid all risk of cold.[1] Such a theory is probable enough, but at the same time it ought to be distinctly pointed out that it is a theory based solely upon an etymology. Apart from this etymology, which, as we have seen, is not undisputed, and without regard to the possible explanation of the peculiar costume of Telesphoros just referred to, there is, so far as I know, nothing in the extant monuments or the authors which will justify us in asserting with real confidence that this Pergamene divinity was a god of convalescence. All that we can at present assert with some confidence is that he had a medical rôle, and that his functions were co-ordinate with, and perhaps in part supplementary to, those exercised towards the sick by Asklepios.[2] The Epidaurian god Akesios, to whom Telesphoros evidently bore a very close resemblance, had, so far as we can gather, nothing specially to do with convalescence. His name Akesios is merely that of a healing divinity able to ward off or to cure disease: as Pausanias[3] says, when speaking of Apollo Akesios: *σημαίνοιτο δ' ἂν τὸ ὄνομα οὐδέν τι ἀλλοῖον ἢ ὁ καλούμενος Ἀλεξίκακος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων.* In driving away the plague from Athens,[4] Telesphoros renders precisely the service that other gods of medicine—Apollo or Asklepios—might have rendered: he is spoken of (like them[5]) as bringing to men a remedy for pain,[6] and in one instance a medicine revealed to a patient in the Pergamene Asklepieion is spoken of as being 'the gift of Telesphoros.'[6] And when this god in the brightness of youth appeared to the philosopher Proclus, then in his boyhood—*puerque puer dilectus Iulo*—he appeared, not to complete the cure of a *convalescent*, but to heal, by his divine presence, the disease of one who had seemed beyond all cure.[7]

I have no novel Telesphoric theory of my own to offer: indeed,

[1] The mantle, with pointed hood, reaching to the knees, is especially a Gaulish costume: see E. Tudot, *Collection de Figurines en Argile*, Pl. 42 and Pl. 43, and Forcellini, *s.v.* Pardocucullus. We find a dress of this kind sometimes worn by Roman travellers, under the Empire, *e.g.* on a relief of the first century A.D. found at Aesernia in Samnium, representing an innkeeper and a traveller (engraved in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* p. 974, Art, 'Caupona').

[2] Cp. Damascius, quoted by Creuzer in Cic. *De nat. deor.* p. 614.

[3] Paus. vi. 24, 5.

[4] Kaibel, *Epigram. Graec.* No. 1027.

[5] Kaibel, *ib.*

[6] Aristid. (ed. Dindorf), vol. i. p. 467.

[7] Marinus, *Vit. Procli.* §7 (ed. Boissonade).

after studying the comparatively meagre set of monuments relating to Telesphoros and the somewhat doubtful theories which have been proposed regarding him, one is rendered little disposed to advance yet another. It was well, however, to state clearly those theories, together with an estimate of the evidence by which they are supported, and especially to get together in some order the raw material of this neglected subject; so that any *new* monuments relating to Telesphoros may at once be fitted, as it were, into their places, and be conveniently compared with the monuments already known. It is to future discoveries —above all at Pergamon and Epidauros—that we must look for the material which will enable us to paint more fully a picture which at present can only be sketched in somewhat hesitating outlines.

Warwick Wroth.

THE PERGAMENE FRIEZE:
ITS RELATION TO LITERATURE AND TRADITION.

I.

The frieze of the Pergamene altar, on which the battle between the gods and giants is represented, however its artistic work may be judged, will always hold henceforth an important place in the history of Greek art. The main outlines of its subject, the broad marks of its style, have already been made known in England through descriptions and photographs. A slight knowledge of the frieze will show one at once a mass of elaborate detail, which finds its place there because the artists have endeavoured to express in their work the various traditions which have grown up around the myth. We have therefore to deal here with a learned and reflective art; and to search out its full meaning is to ask how it stands in relation to the earlier tradition. When one looks at the forms which these enemies of the gods are here made to assume, one remarks instantly the distinction between those who are rendered with full human shape, and those whose bodies are a combination—often motley enough—of animal forms appearing side by side with the human. Now it is with this distinction that the whole history of the development of the tradition is concerned—and it is my aim to show that the Pergamene work reproduces the elements which an analysis of the myth discloses. The earth-born giants may have been regarded under three different aspects—as autochthones, a primeval race of men, or a race anterior to men, (2) as daemones, or beings that belonged to the worship of a primitive people, (3) as allegorical figures, as personifications of certain physical forces, certain powers in the natural world

hostile to man. It is obvious that these ideas need not be distinct, and that by a fusion of the last two the giant may appear as a daemon whose being is rooted in certain elementary operations of nature. But one may ask the question—and the answer intimately touches the Pergamene frieze—whether, whenever the giants appear either in literature or art, there is always one and the same original conception in the background, or whether the one and the other of the above-mentioned ideas is prominent at different times and in different places?

It may seem curious that their characteristic features were far more plastically defined in the earlier poetry, and far more plastically embodied in earlier art than in the later. In the *Odyssey* they are conceived as human in shape, and only in their strength supernatural, and in one place Homer speaks of them as men. (*Batrach.* l, 7),

Γηγενέων ἀνδρῶν μιμούμενοι ἔργα Γιγάντων,

Reference is made to them in the *Odyssey*, where Eurymedon is said to be king of the insolent generation of giants, who in some way or other perish with him. In the *Theogony* of Hesiod they are given the same attributes which they habitually retain on the earlier vase-representations,

Τεύχεσι λαμπόμενοι δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντες.

At the same time the monster Typhoeus is known to both of them, but known in a form entirely distinct from the shape of men; while at an later age, owing to the artificial system of poets and mythographi, or to a natural popular confusion, he becomes admitted into the earth-born brotherhood who appear now in an altered character. In the detailed account of the gigantomachy, given by Apollodorus (1, 6) they are described as serpent-footed, and some time before this a change had come over the artistic representation, for a winged figure with serpent-feet cowering before a god appears on the frieze from the temple of Priene; and henceforth the normal type is no longer plastic or purely human. At what time and through what means the altered representation became dominant is a question which for the moment may be passed by: it is only important to perceive that the new creation of winged serpent-footed beings brings the allegorical character of the myth far more prominently forth.

For as in the imagery used by Hesiod to describe the deadly nature of Typhoeus, one can discern an imaginative picture of volcanic eruptions, subterranean fires and sounds, so there is probably a like symbolism in these transformed figures of the giants. The serpent[1] is a symbol which has various meanings in various applications, sometimes regarded as the type of prophetic wisdom and brooding contemplation—and therefore assigned as a familiar to Apollo and Asclepios—always appropriate also to those who have some close connection with the earth, who draw their origin from it, or whose function is specially to work upon it; and thus the serpents are yoked to the car of Demeter and Triptolemos, and where the animal is found with Dionysos it is probably a mark of his chthonian character. The earth-born Erysichthon sometimes appears as serpent-footed with the same significance as attaches to the dragon in the tale of the earth-born Sparti at Thebes and at Colchis. There is also a natural transition from the conception of the serpent as the animal that lives in the nether world to its application as a fitting image of death, an application which it may bear on Greek grave-reliefs, where it is often the only mark of the funereal import of the scene. The giants therefore can be conceived and represented as serpent-footed because, as personifications of the whirlwind and the volcano, they are conceived as earth-born. But the reptile-form can be significant of much else besides a purely physical fact; it has also an allusion that may be called ethical, and those beings who partake of it could be regarded as powers of darkness and evil. That this ethical symbolism was natural to a later reflection is shown by the words of Macrobius, who regards the serpent-limbs of the giants as evidence of their debased thoughts. The other parts of their complex shape plainly embody certain physical conceptions; for in many works of art they are given wings that are expressive of the rapid rush of the wind, just as in representations of the winged Boreas and Oreithyia. That the giants may be so conceived is shown allusively by the words of Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon*:

Ζεφύρου Γίγαντος αὔρᾳ,

by the designation of hurricanes as Τυφῶνες, and by the myth that all the winds with the exception of Boreas and Zephyr were

[1] *Vide* Welcker's *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. 65-66.

sprung from Typhon. In this connection the curious representation of Boreas as snake-footed on the chest of Cypselus deserves notice; may not this form have embodied for the Greeks their perception of the rolling movement of the wind, and may not a similar conception have played its part in the explanation of the same forms of the giants? The name Alcyoneus is understood by Preller to have the same reference as the Alcyones, the ice-birds, and to designate the giant of the winter-storm; and just as the shape of the hundred-handed Briareus-Aegaeon, as well as the etymology of his second name and his connection with Thetis, speak at once to his association with the sea, so such names as Enceladus, Mimas, and Polybotes the special enemy of Poseidon, seem to be figures that personify the violence of the wind and sea. The character of Typhoeus himself becomes so typical of the whole brotherhood, that Gregory of Nazianzus is able to style them collectively[1] *κεραυνοφόροι θεοί*, and it has been supposed that the thunderbolt appears as a weapon in their hands on certain coins: as, for instance, on a coin in the Berlin collection, where a giant is seen flying over the sea; but the object in his right hand may as well be a jagged branch of a tree as a thunderbolt, or, as has been suggested, may be merely the indication of the water which he disturbs in his swimming. Neither is there any mark of the *κεραυνοφόροι θεοί* in the Pergamene frieze, when the thunderbolt indeed appears as a badge on the shield of one of the fallen giants, but without any necessary allusion to the volcanic fires. On the other hand, the legend of Salmoneus has been ingeniously combined with that of the gigantomachy by Wieseler,[2] who discovers in the mimic thunder and lightning with which Salmoneus insults Zeus the allusion already mentioned, and endeavours to support his theory by connecting the name with that of the giant Almops, whom Stephanos mentions in explanation of the Thessalian Almopia.

To further illustrate the character of the myth as a physical allegory, it will be enough to briefly notice the various places where the gigantomachy has been localised. The battle-field is usually called Phlegra, and this was placed either in the

[1] Orat. iii. *adv. Julian.* p. 103, D.

[2] *Allg. Ency.* Ersch and Gruber, Sec. 1, Vol. 67, p. 175.

Chalcidic Pallene, or in the neighbourhood of Cumae. No doubt local traditions were rife throughout Italy[1] of a gigantomachy, but later writers who refer to the myth are unanimous in regarding the Chalcidic peninsula as the scene of the primeval struggle. It was here that Ceres was wandering, according to Claudian, when she came upon the forest where the skins of the giants whom the lightnings of Zeus had overthrown were still hung up and smouldering on the trees. Against the explanation of the gigantomachy as an impersonation of volcanic action, it may be urged that the neighbourhood of Pallene—according to the reports of modern travellers—was in no degree volcanic; yet shapes of rock in a wild mountainous region may easily have suggested to a lively fancy the belief in some great event of the past that had left its print upon the face of the land. One may believe that Valerius Flaccus was describing something actual when he says (*Argon.* iv. 236)

> Quisque suas in rupe minas pugnamque metusque
> Servat adhuc.

And Mimas, the name of a giant who is conquered by Mars, is also the name of a mountain in Ionia opposite to Chios, mentioned by Homer as much visited by storms. Of the volcanic character of the neighbourhood of Cumae nothing need be said; the myth was also found at Cyzicus, which in Roman times was much disturbed by earthquakes. And as Typhoeus becomes more closely connected with the story, when it has come more clearly to express certain physical phenomena, it touches the present point to add that, according to the remark of the Scholiast on Pindar (*Isthm.* 1, 31), every mountain was a grave of Typhon, that according to Homer there was a mountain called Typhaonium in Euboea, an island which had local connections with the giants: and again that the river Orontes was formerly called Typhon,[2] probably to signify the violence of a certain part of its course. Finally, the legend seems nowhere to have been more deeply rooted in popular belief than in the highlands of Arcadia, where, as Pausanias[3] tells us, the people down to his time continued to sacrifice to the thunder and lightning.

[1] Cacus seems an Italian Typhoeus, according to the description of Propertius, iv. 9, 10.

[2] Strabo, xvi. 751.

[3] Paus. viii. 29.

So far the giants have been regarded, first as purely anthropomorphic in such plastic forms as Hesiod had assigned to them, secondly as allegorical impersonations. But the quotation from Pausanias suggests whether they possess yet another aspect, a character which, as has been already said, may be connected with the second conception. Is the curious Arcadian practice the survival in ritual of an ancient worship? and are the giants the gods of a primitive pre-Hellenic belief? Such appears to be the theory of Wieseler, who considers them to be personifications of natural forces, and to belong to an Oriental religious system which was imported into Greek settlements; for he notices that the myth was specially dominant in places that were exposed to Oriental influences. That the myth was of foreign origin was the opinion of Diodorus Siculus, book i. ch. 26, who maintains that it was indigenous in Egypt and derived hence. But one may rather believe that the tradition belongs in common to the mythological systems of different peoples, than that the Greek belief was necessarily borrowed directly from the East; and neither in the list of giants given in the recital of Apollodorus, book i. ch. 6, nor in that contained in the theogony of Tzetzes,[1] is there any one that seems to be of Oriental origin. At the same time there are certain facts that hint—though without much directness—at this aspect of them as surviving figures of a primitive worship. We have the fact mentioned by Pausanias of the Arcadian ritual; we have also much that is curious in the tradition concerning the giant Pallas, and his relations to the goddess Athene, and the various elements and cognate forms of the myth have been combined by K. O. Müller in *Hyperboreische Studien*, where he shows that in many accounts there is some being, male or female, who stands intimately near to Athene herself, and is slain by her: sometimes it is her father Pallas, the Titan who in Hesiod is the father of Nike,[2] and the goddess of victory is in the *Ion* of Euripides (1528) identified with Athene herself;

> *μὰ τὴν παρασπίζουσαν ἅρμασίν ποτε*
> *Νίκαν Ἀθήναν Ζηνὶ γηγενεῖς ἔπι.*

The same Pallas is the father of many divinities of light, among

[1] Published by Bekker, *Abhand. d. k. preus. Acad. d. Wiss.* 1840.

[2] So also in Tzetzes' *Theogony*, 190.

whom is Selene, and the goddess of Dawn, whom Ovid calls Pallantis. Sometimes the name is applied to a female friend of Athene, a kind of foster-sister, who is at last also slain by the goddess.[1] The name is found again in Arcadia, the land of the giants' battles, attaching to Pallas the Lycaonid, one of a family that is the enemy of the gods. From all this Müller draws the conclusion that here is an ancient remnant of the dual aspect of the gods, that Pallas-Athene is herself combined of two natures, the one beneficent, the other deadly, the one divine, the other as it were gigantic, both warring upon each other, until the latter is overcome.[2] Whatever force attaches to the argument that proves an affinity of nature because of an identity of name, attaches also to the fact that Athene bears the name of Enceladus.[3] Again, the power of the ægis which is conspicuously Athene's weapon, and which seems part of her very personality, is personified in the gigantic Aegis, a monster who seems in every way comparable with Typhoeus, and who wastes Phrygia, Cilicia, and Egypt, until it is slain by Athene, and its skin is henceforth her emblem and natural weapon.[4] The story, as told by Diodorus, iii. 69, seems once more to illustrate a mysterious connection between Athene, the goddess of the lightning, and the giant-world. Have we not also allusions to the same affinity between an Olympian deity and these enemies of Olympus in certain of the myths of Hera? Once or twice she is seen[5] or her presence can be conjectured on the vases that represent the gigantomachy; but the part she takes in the action is prominent neither in literature nor in art, and in what remains of the Pergamene frieze one searches for her figure in vain. Is this so because, though an Olympian, she is not yet divested altogether of her old nature as earth-goddess, and of the kinship that thus she bears with the giant-family? Some shadow of such old belief remains in the tale told in the Homeric hymn of Apollo, l. 306, where Hera seems to take the place of Gaea and for a grudge against Zeus brings forth Typhoeus. It is Hera also who rears up the γηγενεῖς of Cyzicus to be a trouble

[1] Apollod. 3, 12, 6.

[2] Cf. the Pallatides rocks, Callimachus, *Lav. Pall.* 42.

[3] Hesych. *Etym. Mag.*

[4] Cf. Eur. *Ion*, 987, where the earth is said to produce the monster Gorgo, whom Athene slays.

[5] Vase from Altamura, published by Heydemann, *Gigantomachie auf einer Vase*, &c.

and danger to Heracles.[1] These scattered myths are so many hints suggesting a conclusion which presents the gigantomachy, especially as represented on the Pergamene frieze, in a new light. The gods may on the theory of Müller be regarded as fighting against no alien beings, but against an older group of deities who are powers of the same elements from which the younger Olympians are now seeking to dispossess them in order to rule in their turn. And certainly there is in it given to us at once this strife and this affinity; the deities of the sea are in contest with the unruly powers of the sea; the goddesses of the nether world are thrusting their torches lit from subterranean fires against giants whose wild serpent shapes personify similar forces: the wind-god, Boreas, is fighting for the gods against enemies in whose ranks are the powers kindred to him. Thus it is natural that in certain cases confusions should arise. Among the sea-deities upon the Pergamene frieze, is a figure plainly marked as a sea-Triton, fighting on the side of the Olympians, while in the *Theogony* of Tzetzes quoted above Nereus and Triton are found among the giants. The same confusion is there in connection with Briareus-Aegaeon, who in the *Iliad* appears as a power subservient to Zeus, but who becomes latterly conspicuous in the gigantomachy as the enemy of the gods. But if he and his fraternity are really the divine persons of a primitive nature-worship, we should expect that they should be brought into connection with the Titans, the gods who belong to the older cycle of Cronos; and an attempt has been made by Wieseler to prove that a connection not only can be found, but is original and essential. That it can be found in later art and in later literature is undeniable; thus in more than one representation the myth of the Titan Atlas was applied to certain phases of the giants' contest. Not only are certain mountains and rocks named from them, not only at the end of the battle, as we are told by many poets, did the aegis of Athene transform a great number to stone,[2] whose petrified shapes one might still discern in the highlands of Pallene,[3] but on later works of art one sees giants serving as architectural supports, that is, performing the function of Atlantes.[4] It is possible, as I shall show, to understand in this sense the lines of Naevius—

[1] Apollonius Rhod., *Argon.* i. 989.
[2] Lucan, *Phars.* ix. 655.
[3] Claudian, *Gig.* 98–103.
[4] *Ann. dell' Instit.* vi. p. 153.

Inerantque signa expressa quomodo Titani
Bicorpores Gigantes, magnique Atlantes
Runcus atque Purpureus, filii terras;

and the serpent that is found in at least one representation, where Atlas is supporting the heavens, suggests his connection with the earth-born.[1] At the same time Wieseler quotes certain passages from later writers that seem expressly to show the intimate union between the giants and the Titans. After the enumeration of names in the *Theogony* of Tzetzes, quoted above, the narrative goes on to speak of the victory of Zeus, who in the same battle overthrows both the one and the other,

Τροποῦται καὶ Γίγαντας, τροποῦται καὶ Τιτᾶνας.

And Wieseler concludes that this list of names is drawn mainly from some lost passage in Hesiod's *Theogony* which contained an account of the gigantomachy given as part of the *Titanomachy*; and although this view seems rightly contested by Schömann,[2] yet there are proofs that the connection between giants and Titans is comparatively early. Those, indeed, that Welcker[3] adduces from Euripides seem inconclusive; but according to the Scholiast on the *Argonautica* of Apoll. Rhod. i. 1165, Eumelus had written a Titanomachy in which Briareus-Aegaeon, the son of Ge and Pontus, was a combatant on the side of the Titans. In spite, however, of identity of names and early confusion, it is hardly credible that the myths are originally the same; for while the Titans may be forms of a primitive worship, of which the embodied ideas are not yet individualised and severed from the group, many of the giants are particular local conceptions, and the people of any locality may well have had fancy enough to create these in accord with some peculiar feature of the place without borrowing the shadowy forms of an old religion. The γηγενεῖς Λευτέρνιοι driven out by Heracles from the Phlegraean plain of Campania, and buried near Luca, according to Strabo, vi. 281, c, are surely connected with no worship, but according to him connected rather with a πηγὴ δυσώδης, a noisome pool in the neighbourhood. If, then, the Titans are a vague system of gods that belong to an early

[1] Müller, *Denk. d. a. Kunst.* 2, 825.

[2] *Opusc.* 2, p. 400.

[3] *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. p. 287.

nation-worship, the giants seem a later creation, based, perhaps, on the same physical conception, and in some cases standing to the gods in the same relations as the Titans, yet localised and independent.

But even if one granted that these giants, whose monstrous form and actions show them to be the shadowy personations of physical forces, may be identical with the Titans, yet the question still remains about the λαὸς ἀτάσθαλος of Homer, and the warrior-giants of Hesiod 'gleaming in arms, with long spears in their hands': are these clear-cut plastic figures essentially one with those mysterious volcanic powers? This combination seems to be implicitly admitted by Müller, when he maintains that the Pallantids of Attica are ultimately the same with the giants at Pallene; and Wieseler in the *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie* tries to show the propriety of the combination by an argument based on the identity of names. Eurymedon, the king of the giants in the *Odyssey*, appears, according to Wieseler, in Propertius,[1] conspicuous on the Phlegraean battle-field; but according to the authority of all the MSS. the name Eurymedon does not appear at all. Nor does the emendation seem altogether necessary. But if it were inevitable, does it prove any more than that the learned Latin poet chooses to combine artificially the Γίγαντες of Homer with the Phlegraean combatants? Does it prove any rooted connection between two groups of myth? Nor because the name 'Porphyrion' is found at Corinth[2] belonging to one of the line of Sisyphos, need we see here any necessary connection between the nature-powers and the beings that are nearer to mankind; for such names, like the name of Pallas, upon which Müller builds so largely,[3] can well be given, so to speak, spontaneously, that is, without reference to some original myth concerning genealogical affinities. If, indeed, Tzetzes' muster-roll of names were borrowed directly from a passage now lost of Hesiod's *Theogony*, and they were borne by personages who play their part in the Titanomachy, then perhaps one would have no more reason to say that the figures which one sees on early vase-paintings in the equipment of Homeric warriors are in any way distinct from the preternatural creations of a later art. But a

[1] *Elegies*, iii. 7, 48.

[2] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* iii. 1094—Σισύφου παῖδ ς ἐγένοιτο Ἅλμος καὶ Πορφυρίων.

[3] *Vide* Welcker's *Götterlehre*, i. p. 790–791.

great difficulty will then at once arise. If the giants were always conceived, or in their origin were conceived solely as elemental forces, never more humanly as a primitive race of men, how could early poetry and early art present them with such plastic clearness in perfectly human outlines? We might have expected the reverse, and in an analogous instance the reverse is found. The gods of the Olympian system were probably in the view of early belief high impersonations of different parts of the natural world; but at a very early time they became divorced from their element, owing to the peculiar power and quality of the Greek religion in transforming such ideas. The elemental significance of Athene as goddess of the pure heaven, or of Hermes as a god of the clouds or winds, recedes, and forms merely the background of local tradition. The deities become real figures, of separate life, with a power of action higher but not obscurer than the actions of men. But, according to Wieseler's view, the belief concerning the giants was developed and expressed quite differently; being in the origin merely the shadowy forms of the volcano and the storm, they suddenly in early poetry and art gain clear human features, and have lost, as far as their representation goes, their physical associations, while in later literature, poetry, and art, they appear conspicuously as allegorical figures, symbolisms of nature. Now those who maintain the theory of Wieseler may explain this as arising merely from the helplessness of archaic art, which could represent human forms and animal forms, but lacked the skill to combine these in any organic union. It may be urged that it was reserved for the later art, with its love of allegory and power over it, to overlay what was human in a figure with shapes and attributes drawn from the animal world, and to arrange and combine with such skill that the multiform product should be at once living and symbolic: and one may support the explanation by pointing to the representation of river-deities which in earlier sculpture is more plastic, in later more allegorical; but it would still have to be shown why the vase-painters of the sixth and fifth centuries were unable to present the giants otherwise than as human, and yet were able to give to Typhoeus, the kindred personage, a medley of abnormal forms that showed, however clumsily, his physical character. But the explanation, even if in certain cases it may be allowed some

force, yet fails here; first because it leaves the difficulty in the literary account untouched. Why are the giants in Homer and Hesiod purely human, save for superhuman strength and stature, if for these poets also the γηγενεῖς are conceived clearly as natural forces? Certainly the Homeric imagination was as a rule clear and plastic, but not always so, for the figures of Eris and Ate are on the whole formless and allegorical, and there is little that is anthropomorphic in such a creation as Scylla, still less in the Hesiodic Typhoeus. Why again, when such an art as the Pergamene had acquired its mastery over symbolic expression, are the old human forms still found surviving by the side of the new preterhuman creation? According to a dictum of Wieseler, this is never the case; the human and the 'bicorpores' cannot appear side by side, and when they seem to be brought together, as in the Vatican relief, he pronounces the winged serpent-footed giant to be Typhon. But he is of course refuted on this point by the discovery of the Pergamene frieze. When we see there the contrast I have mentioned, we see the influence of two separate myths, of the myth concerning the γηγενεῖς, or Autochthones, a primitive race that borders on the later families of men, and the myth that has created certain figures out of the wild forces of nature; and these are kept distinct by Welcker in his *Götterlehre*, and surely with justice. For tradition knows of certain tribes of giants that have no discoverable point of contact with the elements of the world of nature. Passing by the authority of Homer and Hesiod, one may say this with great probability of the Pallantids of Attica. That the name of giant may be applied to them, one can gather from a fragment of Sophocles, *Aegeus* (fr. 19, ed. Dind.):—

> ὁ σκληρὸς οὗτος καὶ Γίγαντας ἐκτρέφων
> Πάλλας.

These are the enemies of Theseus finally driven out by him at the head of his Athenians; the story is filled up with interesting detail by Plutarch, who tells us that the tribe of Pallene were betrayed by a Hagnusian, and that henceforth down to his time there was no intermarriage between the men of the demes Pallene and Hagnus. For explanation, one may find here the shadowy expression of some physical phenomenon, but thus one

loses sight of the palpable fact that the myth is a political myth containing an account of a struggle between an earlier and a later generation, and the contrast between the two forces in the 'gigantomachy' will be well illustrated by the frieze of the Theseum—with whatever theme it deals—by the contrast there shown between fierce and wild strength on the one side, and the finer athletic form of the men of Theseus. The giants referred to by Apollonius Rhodius who attack the Argonauts near Cyzicus seem again no more than the primitive men of the savage country. Now in following out the myth through the later authorities one can see that the human aspect it assumes is often due to an artificial euhemerism; but when one has eliminated all that can be ascribed to this tendency, there still remains this mythic-historic element, if one may thus designate the tradition concerning the giant-Autochthones, and from this also, as well as from the other physical tradition, the legend of the gigantomachy could arise: for it is natural that the men of the later generation should conceive of their aboriginal predecessors as the enemies of the gods, or as the type of an older system that was there before the reign of law, and the gods may have been believed to play the same part here as they played in rooting out the impious families of the Phlegyae and the Lycaonids.[1]

Now because the significance of this human tradition has been partially absorbed by that other which may be called physical, since in it is the conception of physical forces that are personified as living gigantic powers, the beings of this cycle were at an early time invested with human forms, and gain a human ethical interest, and become connected with traditions where a similar interest prevails. The myth of the Aloades is regarded by Lenormant[2] as purely human, for they are the children of the threshing-floor and the corn-field, who wax insolent on their newly-won prosperity; though there may be other phases of the myth, it must be admitted that this is a prominent one, and at the same time Lenormant seems wrong in separating too sharply the gigantomachy and the enterprise of the Aloades. For Wieseler in his article shows that both the legends are localised in Crete, and that the names of the

[1] Cf. *Myth. Vat.* ii. 58, de gigantum sanguine natus Lycaon.

[2] *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i. p. 55.

Aloades appear in the second line of Tzetzes' list of the giants in his *Theogony*. But both in literature and art there are more certain indications that the two legends overlap. On the fragment of an ewer in Naples, the giants are seen piling stone upon stone to raise a fortification from which heaven may be scaled, and the action reminds vividly of that of the Aloades, and is illustrated by the lines from the *Aetna* of Lucilius (?):—

> Jam coacervatas nituntur scandere moles,
> Impius et miles metuentia provocat astra;[1]

and the illustration is still clearer in the words:—

> Construitur magnis ad proelia montibus agger
> Pelion Ossa terit, summam premit Ossan Olympus.[2]

Among the Theban Sparti, the ancestors of the mythic royal family at Thebes, and themselves sprung from the dragon, the offspring of Ares and Gaea, are such names as Echion and Pelorus, names that are also found in Claudian's *Gigantomachy*; and the recital in the *Argonautica* of Jason's combat with the earth-born Colchians, many of whom are cut down before half their body has emerged from the soil, may possibly be coloured by remembrance of the figure of Ge similarly shown in many representations of the gigantomachy.

The history of the Lycaonids, of Tantalus,[3] of the Phlegyae to whom belongs Tityos the assailant of Leto and the victim of the arrows of Apollo, have all points of contact with the history of the giants, and help also to bring into relief the human aspect, the ethical issues of the myth. Still more prominent is the connection between the Centaurs[4] and the giants; the latter, like the former, are mighty hunters. And in the *Birds* of Aristophanes as in the transitional and later vase-paintings, the trophies of the chase, the skin of the leopard and the lion, form their clothing and defence, while their weapons are sometimes

[1] 50, 51.

[2] 48, 49.

[3] Cf. *Myth. Vat.* i. fab. 2. Ceres, *i.e.* Terra, irata ob sui Tantalique irrisionem, produces the Titan giants.

[4] On the neck of the vase of Xenophantus in St. Petersburg, the Centaurs and giants are found on the same frieze, vide *Compte rendu de la Comm. Archæol. de St. Petersb.* 1866, p. 141. A Centaur appears as the badge on the helmet of a giant who is attacking Zeus on the vase of Altamura, and Mimas is the name both of a giant and a Centaur. Eur. *Ion*, 215.

such as the Centaurs carry, the broken boughs of trees: as are the Centaurs, so under this aspect the giants also, and conspicuously the giant-hunter Orion, may be conceived as the type of the wild life of the forest. And again there is another more curious parallel; as the Centaurs and Amazons are represented in battle on the same frieze of the Phigaleian temple, and the warfare of both is used as the frequent symbol of the contest between barbarism and law, and both tribes are subdued by the political hero Theseus, so we are told that on the shield of Athene Parthenos the gigantomachy and the battle of the Amazons were carved by Pheidias; for both events are symbols of the same ethical value, and both myths are strangely connected on the vase of Melos reproduced by Lenormant in the *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, pp. 52–53, where a figure is seen wounded among the ranks of the giants that must be an Amazon. M. Ravaisson in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association des Études grecs* 1875[1] suggests that the female figure is Eris, and that as the stirrer of strife she is the first to be struck down by the thunderbolt of Zeus. The Furies are certainly seen sometimes in the garb of huntresses on vase-representations of the lower world, but where is Eris seen with the Amazonian shield, or in what passage of poetry or art is this shadowy and allegorical personage described as struck down in actual battle? The presence of the Amazon is here very interesting—for while thoroughly undramatic, and dissipating the air of reality that surrounded the older versions of the tale, it is rightly adapted to the moral symbolism which the artist intends, and illustrates the proneness of artists and writers especially in the Alexandrine and Imperial eras to use the gigantomachy as a type of certain historical events. One can understand the motive of Pheidias in carving this subject upon the shield for a generation in whom the recollection of the Persian wars was fresh. At a much earlier date the same myth was the theme of a trophy raised by the Megarians at Olympia to commemorate their triumph over the Corinthians. For the men of Pergamon its application was very obvious, and its meaning very real. In the last instance where we hear of it[2] as the probable decoration of a public monument, namely of the temple of Jupiter Tonans, its historical significance

[1] Our cut (see next page) is taken from the plate in this periodical.

[2] *Vide* Stark, *Gigantomachy*.



is the same. From the same point of view many later writers tend to regard the myth mainly as one of ethical import. Diodorus Siculus, after mentioning separate gigantomachies in Phrygia, Crete, Pallene, and Cumae, gives as the exciting cause of the contest the injustice of the giants towards men, and the consequent displeasure of the gods[1] (v. 51), and in his usual spirit of euhemerism he believes that the giants were popularly conceived as *πολυσώματοι* only because of their great strength and energy. Again in Bk. iv. 21, he recounts the legend that a combat took place in the neighbourhood of Cumae between Heracles and a tribe of giants who as regards form are in no way preternatural but described as *ἄνδρες ταῖς τε ῥώμαις προέχοντες καὶ ἐπὶ παρανομίᾳ διωνομασμένοι*: the gods assist him, but there seems no reference here to the great gigantomachy. Is this a popular myth genuine and distinct, or is there here a trace of the euhemerism which is far more boldly stated by Eustathius,[2] by Theagenes, who is said to have reduced the dimensions of the whole story: the giants were merely the aboriginal savage tribe of Pallene, attacked by Heracles and his following: it happened to thunder and lighten during the battle and hence the tradition of Zeus and his thunderbolts. Explanations of a similar kind appear in Polybius and Strabo. But it is obvious that the poets both of the earlier and later Imperial eras would ignore this point of view, and take advantage of the picturesque quality that colours the myth when regarded as a drama in which the fierce powers of the early natural world play their part. In the *Aetna* this is vividly felt: and still more in the poem of Claudian which is the only systematic gigantomachy that has survived out of the mass of poetical literature which, as we have a right to assume, must have dealt with the theme. In this and in the Greek fragments attributed to him, the consciousness of the physical convulsions of nature which are embodied in the myth is always there, but overlaid with romantic sentiment, sometimes pathetic, sometimes erotic: in the Greek pendant that supplements the description we hear of the disturbances of Ocean, which the fallen giant nearly drains dry; we are told of the mountains which Enceladus hurls with all their vegetation and moving life upon them—*δένδρεα καὶ ποταμοὶ θῆρές τ' ἔσαν*

[1] Cf. the figure of the giant Tmolus Lycoph. *Alex.* 124, who compelled strangers to wrestle with him.

[2] Dionys. *Perieg.* 337.

ὄρνιθές τε, a trait borrowed by contrast from more than one earlier vase-painting, where hares and other animals are seen painted upon the mountain or island which Poseidon hurls. In the picture described by Philostratus[1] whereon Zeus was depicted quelling a giant upon a mountain with his thunderbolts and Poseidon shaking the earth, the reference to the physical fact is so plain that one is left in doubt whether the earth was there given literally, or personified in female form and fainting beneath the attack of the sea-god. And it may be generally said of the later works of art, as distinguished from the literature dealing with the subject, that the treatment becomes ever less plastic—the forms become more and more allegorical;[2] the simple naive outlines of the Hesiodic figures who wear the hauberk and wield the spear are seen for the last time in the Pergamene frieze; henceforth the usual type is the snake-footed giant whose weapon is the rock. Now the Pergamene frieze seems to be the meeting-point of many mythic conceptions and beliefs; it is representative both of the older and newer art and fancy; for the plastic forms of the younger giants with their human interest and sentiment appear there dignifying the crowd of bizarre animal combinations, while these in their turn relieve the monotony of the older types. The action as represented there is justified from an ethical point of view, because one feels the contrast between the triumphant calm of the gods and the wild untempered rage of their opponents. At the same time the action has a picturesque effect, because in various details of the forms one is reminded of events that belong to the world of nature. But neither the ethic nor the picturesque interest obscures the dramatic; the action is morally significant and is symbolical of the processes of nature—but it is more than this, it is serious and energetic. While in the vase of Melos, where the Amazon appears among the giants, the drama loses itself in mere allegory, there is no such incongruity in the frieze, where every part is pertinent to the particular action. Again, in the fragment of the ewer quoted above the sun in his chariot and the moon on her horse appear, but not as participants in the action, rather as witnesses, or as indicators of the time and local limits of the event. In the Pergamene frieze they appear

[1] *Imag.* 2, 17.

[2] In Ovid, *Met.* i. 182, the monstrous character of the giants becomes exaggerated with mere poetical caprice.

again, but this time dramatically engaged, for here, though there may be redundancy, there is at least no part left unemployed.

At present the general characteristics of this work concern us merely so far as they are brought out by the points of contrast it presents or marks of affinity it bears with other works of art that tell the same tale; but the perception of many of such marks of resemblance and difference depends upon the comparison of some special scenes and particular figures. Such an examination, however, ought to be preceded by the question, whether the winged and serpent footed giant is an original creation of the Pergamene artist, or has been borrowed from earlier works of art? One would at once be tempted to believe from the facile daring with which he deals with such forms, that here is not so much the production of a new type, that what is new is the power of happy and expressive combination.

Already as early as Plato and Aristophanes, if we look at the literary sources alone, a change had come over the representation and conception; the description of the giants is no longer Hesiodic, but in the *Sophist*[1] it is said of them that they attack heaven with rocks and burning trees; and underlying this account is the conception that is second among those I have enumerated. In the *Birds* of Aristophanes reference is made to the panthers' skins with which they are clothed; and indirectly also to the fires which they had hurled against the gods. The passage would also gain more point if we suppose that they are here regarded as winged; for then the parallel between them and the birds who are to imitate their enterprise will be complete. Again, in the *Hercules Furens*[2] of Euripides, the exploits of Hercules against the giants are mentioned in the same passage where his battles with monsters are being enumerated, and the context would lead one to suppose that they also are conceived as of monstrous shape. Indeed if we take the view adopted both by Welcker[3] and Wieseler, that the transformation arose from the connection ever growing more intimate between Typhoeus and the giants, then we may expect to find the transformation following soon after the recognition of the connection. And as early as Pindar,[4] they had been

[1] P. 246 *a*.

[2] Line 177.

[3] Welcker, *Götterlehre*, vol. i. pp. 791, 792.

[4] *Pyth.* 8, lines 16—20.

brought together as figuring in the same gigantomachy. The discovery of the frieze of Priene has set the question beyond a doubt as to the originality of the semi-human types seen on the Pergamene work; for, as has been already remarked, the winged serpent-footed form appears on the former representation in the same action with the giants. According to the old criterion he would at once have been named Typhoeus, because of his wings, but the number of such figures on the frieze shows the invalidity of such an argument. The first express literary notice of the new type is the fragment of Naevius quoted above, a description of some work of art—perhaps, as has been suggested, an engraved shield.

To escape from the admission that the giants are here proved to be conceived as 'bicorpor' as early as the third century, Wieseler resorts to a very forced interpretation and regards the 'bicorpores gigantes' as so many representations of Typhoeus—so that on this work there were four groups of beings to be recognised, the Titans, Typhoeus, the Atlantes, and the giants Runcus (*i.e.* Rhoecus, mentioned in Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 221), and Porphyrion—although it is hard to understand how these four are to be distinguished. The main difficulty in the interpretation of the passage lies in the separation between the Filii Terras and the Gigantes, but the difficulty may be avoided by a version that also does more justice to the balance of the sentence, namely, by taking 'bicorpores gigantes' as in apposition to 'Titani'; and similarly by understanding 'Runcus atque Purpureus' as names of the Atlantes. Naevius will thus be merely intending a distinction between the semi-human giants, whom he confuses with the Titans, and the giants of human shape, who on the work of art were serving as architectural supports and whom he therefore calls 'magni Atlantes.' This sense of the word, which has been adopted by Vitruvius as a technical term of architecture, one is perhaps not prepared to find so soon as the time of Naevius; and those Etruscan works where giants are seen performing the same function are of a later age.

But Naevius might well have had in mind such an instance as that of the Temple of Acragas, where gigantic figures were carved in the place of columns.[1] Or if the suggestion I have

[1] Vide *Kunstmythologie*, p. 360, N. 160.

To face the opposite p.

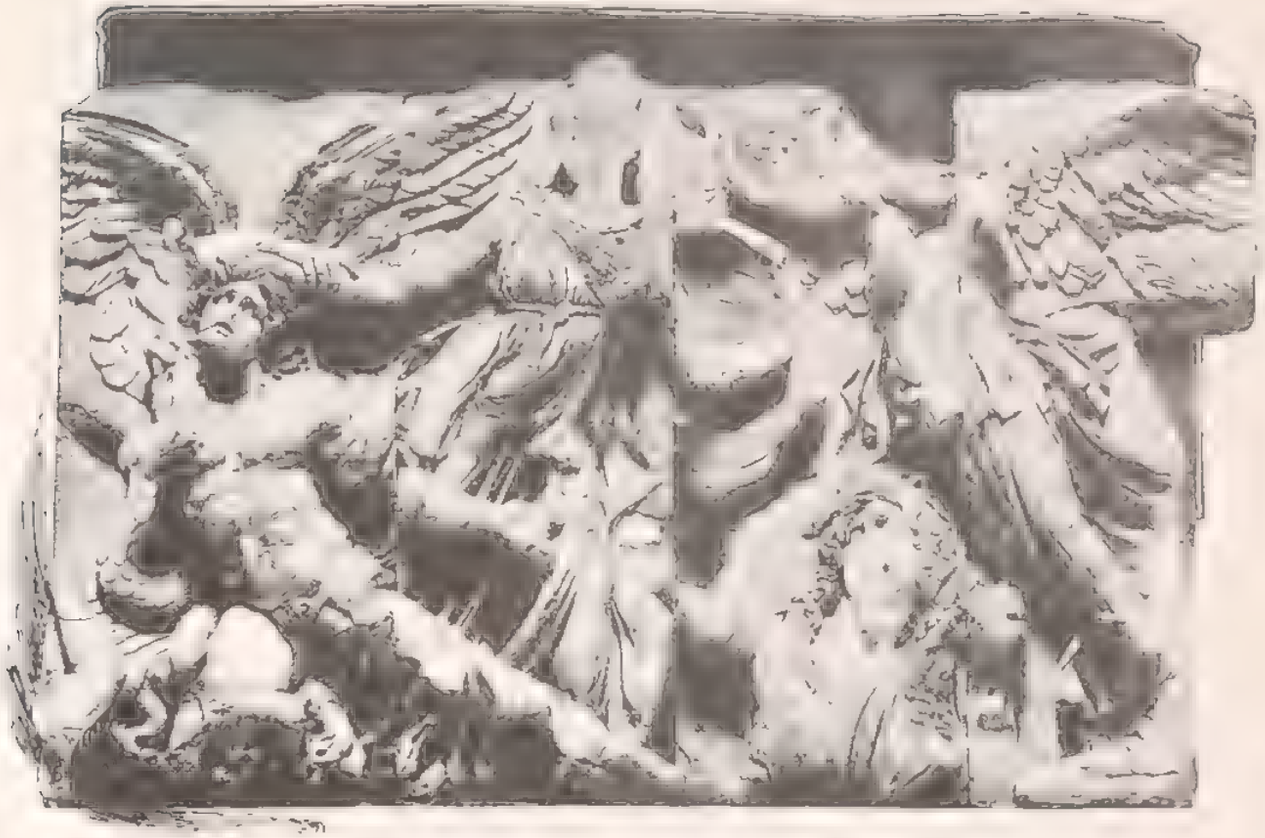




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ZEUS GROUP FROM PERGAMENE FRIEZE



ATHENE GROUP FROM PERGAMENE FRIEZE

made is incorrect, we have yet to find some meaning for 'Atlantes'; and might regard them as the Titans under the leadership of Atlas, mentioned once again, and once again also as giants, if Runeus and Purpureus are to be found among them. But, however interpreted, the passage contains at least an explicit reference to the transformed type that is seen almost to the exclusion of the older in Roman works; and whatever artist or writer it may have been who first brought this type into prominence, one can at all events say that it is not to be ascribed to the Pergamene school, and as it is first found in the art of Asiatic Greece is probably due to general Oriental influences.

II.

A comparison between the Pergamene frieze and other representations of the gigantomachy, as touching the style of composition and execution, may start with an examination of the two groups[1] of which the central figures are Zeus and Athene,[2] the deities to whom tradition assigns the most prominent place in the combat. On the one slab Zeus is seen with fallen giants around him, and one enemy still unconquered. Naked down to the waist—for the himation falls down behind from his left shoulder so as to reveal his torso—he stands brandishing the thunderbolt in his right hand, while, as though to gather force for his cast, his body is inclined somewhat over to the right. How far an inherited type of the Zeus Gigantomachus is here presented, we can partly decide by reference to certain Messenian coins[3] and a certain bronze from Chalcis: the latter is a small archaic figure striding forward, holding the thunderbolt in his right hand, and in his extended left neither shield nor aegis as it appears, but probably a sceptre. In a Zeus Gigantomachus on the vase of Altamura in the British Museum,

[1] [We owe the engravings of these groups on the opposite page to the courtesy of the proprietors, the Century Company, New York.—Ed.]

[2] In Aristides (Dindorf, ii. p. 16), she is given the first place in the action, which is there regarded as a contest between reason and unreason.

[3] Cf. also the coin of Antiochus (Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie, Münztafel*, iii. 29).

the leading marks of the type recur: but a glance at the Pergamene frieze tells us at once how the artist has improved upon any conventional standard, for the simpler more naive movement in the earlier type, where the direction of the body is uniform and identical with the direction of the aim, gives place to a far richer composition here, where the body is swung somewhat back, and for the moment arrested before the launch of the thunderbolt. The same finer effect is acquired for the figure of Zeus on the vase of Melos, where he is seen in full front and appears for one moment to be pausing in his hurried forward march, as he hurls down his weapon. His left hand is here grasping the sceptre, but in our frieze is holding out the aegis which usually belongs to Athene in the gigantomachy, and is here for the first time, in any representation of the subject, ascribed to Zeus, and has much to do with the whole action: for it is not only a defence but a weapon of attack—the giant who has sunk down on his knees before the god bears no trace of wound upon him, but his limbs appear rather to be quivering with a spasm, and his left arm is clenched across his chest; moreover his stiffly strained right arm with its swollen veins is wrought so as to suggest cramp and paralysis. Now this can hardly be the ordinary effect of the thunderbolt, of which the working is quite differently given on the giant behind and to the left of Zeus, whose flesh is literally torn and blasted as though with iron and flame. It must rather be due to the petrifying power of the aegis, and another hint of its deadly quality may be seen in one of the motives in the representation on the right. The giant who is there alone carrying on the combat with Zeus is shielding himself with his left arm which a thick shaggy fell envelopes. And in comparing the elevation of this with the level of his eyes, one may believe that he is endeavouring thus to shun the sight of the aegis. With the same effect is it wielded by Athene in Claudian's *Gigantomachy*: as she dashes it into the face of the giant Pallas, his limbs are slowly numbed, and he feels himself already half stone. And what is there read might well have been suggested by what is here seen in the limbs of the giant who is sinking down at the feet of Zeus. The skill with which the stone is made to express this transformation of the flesh is unique, and the motive may have been an original idea of the Pergamene artist:

but the vase of Aristophanes[1] and the vase of Melos suggest the same conception. In the former, the giant whom Athene is attacking seems stiffened in an impassive attitude; and in the latter, she is holding the butt-end of the spear against the shield of her fallen enemy, not, as I venture to suggest, to attack him thus, but to wrest aside the shield that he may have the full view of the deadly gorgoneum. The poise of the aegis on the arm of Zeus in the Pergamene frieze exactly resembles that of the aegis on Athene's arm on the vase of Aristophanes; while in the Pergamene group, where Athene is the central figure, there is no hint given that the gorgoneum is anything more than a badge. It is curious that the later poets are unanimous in assigning the aegis to Athene, while many of them describe its power over the fortunes of the battle with words that remind of Claudian's, and may have been suggested by the Pergamene sculpture. In the *Odes* of Horace[2] it is the 'sonans Palladis aegis' which stays the rush of the giants; the 'oppositi virginis angues' are the bane of Typhoeus.[3] According to Lucan also, it was the Gorgon on the breast of Pallas that turned the giants to mountains of stone, and brought the battle to a close,[4] and the Greek fragment of the *Gigantomachia* attributed (without good reason) to Claudian has followed the same legend.[5] In deviating thus from the ordinary tradition, the Pergamene artist has apparently followed his own caprice.

The weapon with which the giant on the right is threatening Zeus is probably a stone, for the muscles of his right side appear to be strained with the heavy weight that his right hand is lifting. And on the Vatican relief, published by Overbeck (*Atlas*, taf. v.) is a representation which is an obvious imitation of a part of this, a stone is the weapon of a giant whose figure exactly corresponds. A comparison of the original and the copy illustrates well the dramatic skill of the one and the meaninglessness of the other; for while the Pergamene giant is holding out his left arm as a defence, the giant on the Vatican relief is in just the same attitude, but his left arm has neither

[1] Overbeck, *Atlas zu Kunstmythologie*, taf. v. 3 *a*, *b*, *c*.)

[2] iii. 4, lines 50—64.

[3] Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, iv. 238.

[4] Pharsal. ix. 655.

[5] Γοργοῦς δείξε κάρηνον, ὁ δ' ὡς ἴδε, γνία πεδηθείς
ᾗ φέρεν ἐν παλαμῇσιν ὁμοῖος ἴστατο πέτρῃ.

shield nor fell, but is holding at full stretch a heavy rock—which is neither a defence nor in that position can be used as a weapon of offence. Yet the Roman copyist had found a high example of his own blunder, not certainly in the Pergamene groups, but in the frieze of the Theseum, where there is the same motive, or lack of real motive, in the attitude and action of the figure whom Theseus, or the combatant known as Theseus, is attacking, and who is threatening his enemy with two stones held in a similar fashion.[1]

The giant who is here the opponent of Zeus, is of the wildest type; but to identify him is neither possible nor even desirable; for though on many vase representations the giant whom Zeus is overthrowing is specified as Porphyrion, yet this is not invariably the case, nor need the precedent have been binding upon the Pergamene artists, who seem to have abandoned the tradition of single combats. However he is to be named his figure possesses a varied interest, for his serpentine limb reaches to the top of the frieze, where a wing can be seen belonging to an eagle that must be attacking the serpent's head; and this is a motive that is of frequent occurrence in the Pergamene relief, nor can an exact parallel be found in any existing work of earlier date. The eagle can certainly be found on earlier representations in accord with the tradition that regards him as the 'Jovis armiger ales,' who brings the thunderbolt to the hand of Zeus: in the vase of Altamura the bird is seated on the left arm of the god, facing the countenance of the giant; but so placed he seems little more than a symbol: and a symbolic or purely heraldic meaning appears to attach to the contest of the owl and falcon on an early vase[2] where they are seen flying towards each other above the heads of Athene and Enceladus; but in our frieze for the first time is the eagle represented as the natural enemy of the serpent, not as symbolical and partially inactive, but as seriously and independently engaged in the action.[3] The Pergamene sculptors have indeed found precedent in earlier works

[1] The resemblance is striking, whether Müller's theory above mentioned is true or not.

[2] Gerhard, *Auserles. vasenb.* Pt. i. Pl. vi.

[3] Unless put to an energetic use, the serpentine limbs of the giants become a ludicrous and clumsy trait of the representation, as may be seen on the Vatican sarcophagus (Overbeck, *Kunst. Myth. Atlas*, Pl. ix. *a*, *b*, *c*, taf. v.), with its stiffened symmetrical rows of figures, and on the small reliefs from Aphrodisias in Caria.

for assigning to animals a part in the action, but never had the idea been so energetically and profusely developed through a wonderful interchange of human and animal forms. The eagles of Zeus, the dogs of Artemis and Hekate, the panthers of Dionysos, are all represented with curiously manifold invention, in varying conflict, now with the reptile, now with the human part of the giant. In the presence of these we need not recognise any hint of the tradition mentioned by Apollodorus (1, 6) concerning the transformation of the gods into animals on the occasion of the conflict with Typhoeus, for though a reference more or less direct to such a legend may be found in Horace,[1] Ovid,[2] and possibly in Claudian,[3] yet there is no existing work of art which with any probability[4] can be said to have expressed it. Here the animals are not only a new interest, but serve also as living attributes telling more clearly the personality of the various gods. Before examining for the same purposes of comparison some of the details of execution and composition, one would wish to know whether the group as it is presented to us on these four slabs is complete in itself, so far as the laws of frieze-work allow completeness, or whether certain other figures must be conceived, not only as contiguous but as intimately concerned in its action?

Once more one must have recourse to earlier representations: on vases, both of the archaic and perfected style, no figure is more commonly found in the gigantomachy than Heracles. Indeed, on one archaic vase published by Overbeck,[5] he takes a conspicuous lead: for Zeus is just mounting to serve as charioteer of the chariot from which Heracles is launching his arrows. This is an unique instance of such pre-eminence, but the instances in art of his close association with Zeus and his presence in his chariot are common enough even before the days of Euripides, who emphasises the

> Διὸς τέθριππα...ἐν οἷς βεβηκὼς τοῖσι Γῆς βλαστήμασι
> Γίγασι πλευροῖς πτήν' ἐναρμόσας βέλη
> Τὸν καλλίνικον μετὰ θεῶν ἐκώμασεν.[6]

[1] *Od.* ii. 19, 21.

[2] *Metam.* v. 326.

[3] *Gigantomachy*, 51.

[4] The coins on which a giant is seen overthrowing a griffin or stag are shown by Wieseler to bear an entirely different meaning.

[5] *Atlas zu Kunstmythol.* taf. iv. Pl. 6.

[6] *Herc. Fur.* 177.

The tradition therefore preserved by Apollodorus and mentioned also by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* i. 100, that Heracles is the indispensable mortal whose aid was necessary to the victory of the gods, is probably ancient, and certainly rife in the second century B.C.; thus one will expect to find him on the Pergamene frieze not far from Zeus, not far, that is, from the crisis of the action. Now on the left of this group, just above the shield of the disabled giant, there is an indication of his presence—namely, there is to be seen the skin and nails of a wild beast's paw, which must have belonged to a lion's fell, and from its position one may conclude that it was enveloping the left arm of some combatant. The fell would certainly be appropriate enough to some giant hunter, but if a giant were here, he must have been erect and dangerously threatening Zeus from behind, so that the greatest of the gods at the critical moment of the battle would be waging a contest of very doubtful issue; for, that the supposed enemy is confronting any of the deities on his right side, the position of his left arm, from which the fell must be conceived to hang as a shield, renders improbable. In all likelihood, therefore, one should see here a fellow-combatant of the gods; and in this case the lion's skin speaks decisively for Heracles; for whose presence on any other part of the frieze there is neither the evidence of fact nor of natural appropriateness. A few words are necessary to substantiate this, since in point of fact two attempts have been made to discover the hero in other scenes. Immediately on the right of Group I.[1] where a young god is struggling in the serpentine folds of a giant, is preserved the fragment of a head, a right hand holding a club, of a torso with a lion's skin around it: and Dr. Furtwängler[2] would recognise Heracles here. But the situation and some of the details are inconsistent with this view, for the form is that of a combatant who is defending himself while still retreating, and the locks of hair that can be seen on the back of the head are the thick matted clusters that belong to the type of the earth-born. Still less tenable is Overbeck's belief, which he expresses without reserve, that the figure who is entangled in the giant's coils is none other than Heracles himself. Undoubtedly the motive of this group is

[1] The letter refers to the arrangement in the Assyrian hall of the Berlin Museum.

[2] *Archæolog. Zeit.* 1882, p. 162.

reproduced with some exactness in the small Roman work in Wilton House, where the opponent of the giant is certainly Heracles: but that we have no warrant for arguing from the personality of the one to that of the other is shown by the numerous instances of that imitative spirit which borrows a traditional motive and then, to secure a kind of originality, applies it to a different theme. Without quoting others it is sufficient to point to the Vatican relief, already mentioned, where the figure of the giant who is attacking Artemis is in all essential points a replica of the giant who in the Pergamene frieze is withstanding Zeus. But even if the copyist rarely allowed himself such liberty of application, yet it is wholly impossible to believe that the combatant who of all on the side of the Olympians is brought into imminent, almost desperate peril, should be Heracles, he, whom earlier and later tradition represents as the victorious champion of the gods. For him the shield which the combatant bears is unsuitable, the stature altogether too unpretending: and the copyist who wrought the Heracles of Wilton House, while borrowing directly from this group, has been obliged to alter the composition in certain essential points for he wished to represent a victory of the demi-god, and the prototype he selected was shown on the verge of defeat: while the latter therefore is being lifted from the ground and is vainly trying to secure a footing on the slippery coils of his antagonist, the Heracles is made to stand more firmly and securely, and the upper limbs are less entangled.

Both for positive and negative reasons it seems best, therefore, to assume the presence of Heracles bound by Zeus: and if both are given together one might expect some prophetic allusion to the certainty of victory, as on the gigantomachy on the frieze-relief from Aphrodisias in Caria there is a trophy erected near Zeus with obvious significance. Now there is a slab for which as yet no certain place has been found, showing a chariot drawn along by four winged horses over a huddled mass of dead giants, and near the relief on which Zeus is seen was found a female torso of slim and delicate proportions. That this is Nike and that she was guiding the chariot of Zeus, is supported by the analogy of many vase representations, and if all these slabs can be brought together, the chariot will form a

brilliant feature in the whole central scene, as, in fact, it forms in the vase of Melos, and the havoc that the onset of Zeus has made among the giants will be still more impressively shown. A Zeus Gigantomachus fighting from his car is a picturesque motive which appears on the vase of Ruvo; but here he has descended, his whole form is shown, and the plastic effect is heightened.

As regards the composition it is the multitude of figures brought together that distinguishes this from earlier representations, where the composition as a rule resolves itself into single groups, in accord with the early tradition of single gigantomachies, or perhaps rather with the limitations of archaic art. On the more picturesque vases of the fourth century, one sees some sort of attempt to render the intricacies of a general battle, where masses are ranged against masses. The vase of Melos [1] preserves on the whole the monomachy as the leading motive, yet the whole group, with its profusion of figures, does not altogether break up into pairs of combatants set over-against each other. On the crater from Ruvo, the connection between Artemis and her opponent is somewhat indirect and distant, while the scene depicted on the fragment of the 'ewer,' published by Overbeck, *Atlas*, Pl. V., 8, *a*, shows us the united group of giants acting *en masse*. How the frieze of Priene dealt with the problem, is a question which the surviving fragments are hardly sufficient to answer; but judging from these, and from the character of other battle-reliefs belonging to this date, one must believe that it adhered to the older and simpler method of grouping, which on work of a comparatively small scale would offer interest enough. But more was demanded of the Pergamene sculptor, who must cover some four hundred feet of frieze with incidents of the same action. To rely purely upon the motives of single combats was to run the risk of an intolerable monotony. On the other hand, a condensation of the figures into groups might result in such a lack of interest as the lack one complains of in some parts of the Xanthian frieze. In the Pergamene group of Zeus, as well as in many others, one sees how well the artist has avoided either risk; for

[1] The student of the Pergamene gigantomachy will be often reminded of this vase, on account of its elaborate detail and varied movement. *Vide* Heydemann, *Gigantomachie auf einer Vase aus Altamura*, p. 15.

he has secured plastic precision and definiteness of intention by strongly marking the two protagonists, and, independently of the use of animal forms, has gained a variety of motive by crowding the basement with dead and dying, and thus providing a subordinate theme, a picturesque background. The god is seen not merely to be striking down his single enemy, but to have overthrown the phalanx of which he formed a part; and among the motives of rhetorical pathos, with which this work is so masterfully endowed, none is in this sense more moving than the forms of vanquished giants lying often with their faces buried in the dust, their hair streaming downwards, and their figures frequently shown by means of a skilful foreshortening. This mode of filling the basement seems to have constituted an epoch of relief-composition, to have formed a style which Roman work was quick to reproduce. On sarcophagi that present the overthrow of the Niobids, on the Vatican sarcophagus of the gigantomachy, the lower ground is filled with figures whose attitudes elaborately express the pathos of death and defeat, and remind vividly of similar groups in the great frieze. In the last quoted Roman work there is this other similarity and this point of difference as compared with the Pergamene: a general gigantomachy is rendered, and no scenes of separate conflicts, but the giants are so banded together as actors in a common cause, that individual interest is lacking.

As regards the technical execution of this group in the Pergamene frieze, there is much that is at once striking and apparently novel. The artist has been able to maintain a very life-like distinction between the different stuffs or materials:[1] the flesh and the drapery, the shaggy folds of the wild beasts' fell upon the giant's arm, the leathery scales of the serpent and the plumes of the eagle above are all minutely characterised; and the facility of half revealing, half concealing organic forms, could never be more effectively shown than in the treatment of the giant's arm on the right, where the great outlines of the limb appear shadowed through the thick wrapping. The same motive less powerfully worked out had been seen

[1] The skill with which the leather wrapping is treated on the boy in the British Museum, who is biting the leg of his comrade, makes for the theory which the character of the subject and the semi-barbaric forms suggest, that the work belongs to the Pergamene school.

before on the cylix of Aristophanes in the form of the young giant who is sinking down before Artemis and is lifting an arm in supplication. Again, the Pergamene artist seems scarcely to be dealing with a hard material in his execution of the thunderbolt that has struck down the giant on the left: where the lower part has entered the thigh, the flesh is splintered and torn as though with splinters, while in the upper part the conventional treatment that seems almost inevitable to sculpture seems to have been avoided, and in its working and appearance it is flame and vapour scorching and blasting the arm. One is reminded again of the crater of Ruvo where the flakes and flashes of the fire are seen descending upon the wildest of the giants.

The same power over the distinction of forms noticed already is again seen in the rendering of the muscular system of the gods and the giants, when they are compared simply in regard to the human anatomy. The law of relief-work, the necessity of filling a certain space, made it impossible to express the difference of the two natures in any distinction of stature, and in accord with the old tradition the giants that are human in shape are given merely the heroic proportions. In those exceptional cases of plastic representations, where the gods or the giants appear of diminished size, certain conventional reasons[1] for such a rendering can be given. Here the character of the one set of combatants is expressed more in accord with the spirit of sculpture by a distinct handling of the muscles: and the naked torso of Zeus is illustrative of the limits within which the idea of divine strength was worked out. The forms are indicative of vigorous effort in the very highest degree, but the muscular surface shows rhythmical gradations and a balanced rise and fall. On the other hand, the wild untempered strength of the giant is characteristically rendered by crowding the muscles into a mass so as to produce a striking effect of force without minute articulation, without athletic fineness. And this is also found on vase-representations that are anterior to our present period; on the vase of Melos, for example, and on the cylix of Aristophanes, there appears an attempt to distinguish between the combatants by a distinct muscular treatment: the contrast in the latter scene between Apollo and his opponents

[1] As for instance on the relief from Aphrodisias, *Denkmäler d. a. K.*, 845*a*, *b*.

is especially marked. To the Pergamene school must be ascribed the creation of the ideal barbaric type of face and form, and the fine analysis in which Brunn[1] has set forth the traits of the dying Gaul may be with considerable correctness applied to the dying giant of the Attalid group and the giants of the Pergamene frieze, whose likeness to the Gauls in physiognomy has already been remarked by Professor Gardner. The style seems also to have been used for works of art where it was less obviously applicable: the muscles and veins on the torso of the Heracles Farnese are treated in noticeable accord with this Pergamene canon that is applied to the giants, and the resemblance is all the more natural inasmuch as the motive of the figure had already been presented on a slab of the smaller Pergamene frieze, where Heracles is seen resting on his club and lion's skin, and contemplating the infant Telephus.

The group that alone can be compared with the group of Zeus for richness of detail, skilful execution, and dignity of action, is that on which the achievements of Athene are depicted. Unlike the former it represents not so much the battle itself as the moment following the battle, and the two opposite motives of triumph and pathos. Armed with shield and helmet, and with the aegis drawn obliquely, as is common in later works, across her breast, Athene is moving rapidly to the right, while her left hand is violently grasping a fallen youthful giant by the hair: he has sunk helplessly upon his knee, and the serpent of Athene is inflicting a deadly wound upon his breast. On the left is a winged Nike flying swiftly to crown Athene, for this must be the motive of her extended right arm. Below emerges a figure whom the inscription on the right and the horn of plenty by her side mark as the mother of the giants, who rises from the earth to plead with Athene for her children. The action of Nike as well as the movement of the giant himself attest that the struggle is over: for it is clear from the representation that the hand with which he tries to free himself from Athene's grasp has lost all power, the fingers seeming to close upon the flesh without pressure. As the serpent's fang is just entering his breast, and there is otherwise no trace of a wound upon him, the nature of the force that has overthrown him may seem doubtful, and it

[1] Brunn's *Künstler-Geschichte, Die Kunst von Pergamon*, s. 445.

might suggest itself that the gorgoneum on the breast of Athene has worked the same effect here as the aegis on the arm of Zeus, so that the stiffened and powerless left arm might be thus explained. Now on the earlier black-figured vases this emblem is never seen on the aegis—on the vase of Altamura it is there, but her weapon is still the spear; and while in the vase of the Louvre there may be a hint, as I have suggested, of that use of the aegis in Athene's gigantomachy which the Latin poets have so emphasised,[1] and though the tradition may have been rife before the Pergamene period, yet the artist of this group can hardly have followed it. Otherwise, the aegis and gorgoneum would surely have been brought into greater prominence, not as it were introduced parenthetically: and the face of the dying giant is so wrought that one cannot have been required to imagine that at that moment a frozen insensibility was creeping over it. It fits better with the rest of her equipment to suppose that the spear has been her weapon, as on the greater number of representations it is: and that she has thrown this away now that her victory has been secured over the company of giants opposed to her. For this, like the Zeus group, is no scene of single combat; the basis of the frieze is heaped with the dead and dying: the enemies she has overthrown seem on the whole of human form,[2] and two at least are armed with the Homeric cuirass, namely, the one on the left who is lying stretched out on his back sideways along the base, and the giant on the right who is burying his head upon his arms. On the other hand the Latin poets, such as Lucan and Claudian, who recount the power of her aegis in the battle, are fond of confronting her with the serpent-footed: and the small relief on the handle of an amphora from Ruvo,[3] now in St. Petersburg, which repeats the central motive of this group, shows Athene standing on the coils of her enemy. When one examines the composition, one discovers that

[1] Cf. Claudian's *Gigantomachy*, lines 91—93—

Tritonia Virgo
Prosilit, ostendens rutila cum Gorgone pectus:
Aspectu contenta suo, non utitur hasta.

[2] Corresponding with the figure of the winged giant whom Athene is dragging down, there might seem to have been another of like form on the right if the fragment of a wing has to be thus interpreted; but its texture seems to be hardly that of a giant's or an eagle's wing; might it belong to the winged horses that are drawing the chariot of Athene Hippia?

[3] Overbeck, *Atlas*, Pl. iv. 7 *a*, *b*.

many of its chief motives are rooted in an inherited plastic tradition, however original the system and application may be. The figure and action of the goddess cannot indeed be paralleled in other representations of Athene Gigantomachus; there is, in fact, as much or more difference between this and the early type as between the Zeus of the Pergamene and the Zeus of the early representations of this action. On many of the black-figured vases, on vases of the style of the fifth century, such as the vase of Altamura, on the cylix of Aristophanes, her form is in essential points the same with that of the Herculaneum-Athene whose movement is free of all complication; for she is striding with an uniform motion forward, extending her aegis on her left arm and brandishing her spear in her right. An altogether different arrangement appears on the crater of Ruvo, and the amphora of the Louvre, whereon the moving form shows a far greater complication of lines. Yet neither the earlier nor these later types at all resemble what we see on the Pergamene frieze: here the form is simpler and grander than the later, and far more varied and effective than the earlier, and the distinction is based on a difference of idea, as the difference between the goddess in combat as she there appeared, and the goddess whose triumph is beginning, as here.

The nearest parallel that any plastic work presents belongs to a wholly distinct cycle of mythic representations; the two figures of Athene and Nike appear together on the Roman puteal of Madrid which Schneider[1] has published, and exhibit a striking resemblance, which Petersen has pointed out, to the pair on the frieze. It is the moment after Athene's birth which is there given, when the goddess wearing helm, aegis, and shield, is moving rapidly away to the right followed by her familiar Nike who flies to lift a crown to her head. That this type should have been borrowed for the gigantomachy is no unnatural derivation, if the legend preserved in Sidonius Apollinaris,[2] which connects Athene's birth with the battle, has come down from earlier sources than the Roman. The tale is plainly allegorical, whether it expresses a physical or psychic allegory, and is therefore well in accord with the style of Alexandrine

[1] Vide *Die Geburt der Athene*, Wien Fleckeisen, *Jahrbuch für Philologie*, 1881, s. 486.

[2] Sid. Ap. Carm. vi.—
Diva Gigantei fudit quam tempore belli
Armatus partus vertice dividuo.

tradition. Yet the Pergamene artist has markedly improved upon that which he has borrowed, if indeed he has borrowed from the type of which the Madrid puteal is a later reproduction. For the frieze shows us the movement of Athene balanced and checked by that of Nike, so that there is, so to speak, a thesis and antithesis; in the figures on the puteal there is merely a repetition of one and the same movement.

A goddess dragging back the head of her enemy is a motive of frequent occurrence in the frieze, and though applied on this slab with more effectiveness than is elsewhere gained, is yet an arrangement of the figures that had long become traditional in plastic art. The opportunity for fine balance that it gives had commended it to the artists of the Phigaleian frieze, and it belongs to an earlier date still, if the work on the peplos of the Dresden Athene, whereon it also appears, is an accurate reproduction of an archaic type.[1] But it does not seem to have been borrowed for the representation of Athene Gigantomachos except by the Pergamene artists, by those who were approximately contemporary, and those who were later and possibly influenced by their tradition. I have already noticed the relief on the handle of the amphora from Ruvo;[2] the Pergamene motive is there, and again in a rude but unmistakable form on an Etruscan mirror.[3] The part that Athene's serpent is here taking in the action is not assigned to it, as far as I have been able to discover, in any early work of the gigantomachy; but on a vase showing the style of the fifth century, where Dionysos is attacking a giant, the serpent is aiding the god, as it is here fighting for the goddess; and on the other handle of the same amphora from Ruvo is a giant around whose limbs a serpent is coiled that cannot belong to his own form, but must be the familiar animal of Athene. Perhaps the greatest importance of this part of Athene's group lies in this, that it has given the cue to the main motive of the Laocoon. One other point of resemblance between the Pergamene and great Rhodian work I wish soon to indicate, after considering one last and obvious link of connection between the Pergamene and other renderings of the same

[1] Henceforth it seems to have been very commonly used for scenes of the gigantomachy; as it is probably to be found in the frieze of Priene, once on the crater of Ruvo, and more than once on the Louvre vase.

[2] Overbeck, *Atlas*, Pl. v. 7 *b*.

[3] Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, lxvii.

theme. And this is the figure of Gaea, whose presence in the gigantomachy is conspicuous in the art that belongs to the end of the fourth, and to the beginning of the third century. On the vase of the Louvre she is not found, but on the cylix of Aristophanes, and on the fragment of the ewer, she is seen emerging from the earth, more completely revealed in the first than in the second, there pleading, here encouraging, her sons. In the later representations, where the part that physical symbolism plays in the whole tradition becomes more and more prominent, her figure belongs naturally to the story, and to the story as told not only by art, but by the Latin poets, and perhaps she was to be recognised in the picture described by Philostratus—where her presence would be an expression of the same thought as that which has given her a place at the scene of the sufferings of Prometheus on a relief of a sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum.

The group of Athene is also interesting for the physiognomy it shows, for the face of the dying giant is most characteristic of the whole type, as regards the treatment of features. The long waving hair, falling down the cheeks and swaying above the forehead in loose thick clusters, is essential to this peculiar barbaric ideal, and serves as the best mark of identity for many remains of otherwise doubtful meaning. Such hair on the head of the so-called 'dying Alexander' is a certain sign, and fragments of the same character on the Athenian torso published and described in the *Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts* (Pl. viii. 1880), strengthen the belief which the treatment of the flesh suggests, that we have here to do with work that belongs to the same theme and the same style as the Pergamene frieze; that these are giants such as Apollodorus (i. 6) describes, *καθειμένοι βαθεῖαν κόμην ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενείων*. This trait seems common to all the heads, but the faces, though akin in the leading features, are in a marked degree distinguished according to age and the circumstances of the action: the corrugated forehead with a strong bar across the centre, the deep eye-sockets, the lines about the nose and mouth, the high full curve of the lips, the depression in the chin under the mouth, the tall throat firm yet slim, these are characteristics of the younger giants, and many of the elder, and in their total effect produce a set of features that may be called relaxed or undisciplined, mobile in

the highest degree, because the deep shadows that rest upon them add much to the expression, now of rhetorical pathos, now of fierceness. To the situation and character of the youthful form whom Athene is overthrowing, a countenance moulded with Peloponnesian style and severity would of course be inappropriate, yet, while wrought more expressively than some, the face is firmer and more under control than others, in fact stands midway between that of the young serpent-footed giant (placed under slab *A* in the Assyrian Hall near to the combat of Hekate and her following), whose face is, so to speak, broken up and confused with a distorting sentiment of ferocity, and on the other hand such countenances as the so-called Orion's, whose features are sternly controlled so as to hint rather than express the passionate nature, or as that of the giant who has sunk down beneath the sea-Triton, and who seems too near the point of death to express in his face more than a subdued and quiet sorrow. These seem to be the three types of features found in the younger giants, which can be easily brought under a common genus. Distinct from these are those of the elder, which, again, as far as I have been able to judge, offer three distinctions. Nearest to the younger type, and a development of this, are the features of the double-formed giant whom Hekate is attacking. In spite of the wild expression of hair and overhanging eyebrows, there is some nobility remaining here, and a certain melancholy which has reminded of Poseidon. On others, again, one sees the lower traits more developed, and animal features are mixed with the human, so that ethical expression is no longer attempted, but the artist has sought to display his skill in fusing the two natures, to produce a type which may be called the brutalised human; but the animalism becomes more and more prominent until the form is simplified, and the type is merely brutal. Now, though the countenance of the giants is thus worked out by the Pergamene School with an unique variety of forms, yet in this as in so many other cases they are carrying out tendencies that had been found in earlier art. On the vase of the Louvre, on the cylix of Aristophanes, on the vase of Ruvo, on the fragment of the ewer, the giants are characterised with the long hair, the protuberance on the forehead, and, as far as I can judge from the drawings, with the deep eye-sockets; and where Ge appears she bears in her countenance

the marks of affinity with her kindred, as may be noticed even in the mutilated Pergamene fragment; and on the crater of Ruvo we have the distinction brought out with some plainness between the older and younger forms; while on the whole the countenances of the giants on most of the vases are rounder than on the frieze. Now many of these features belong to the pathetic and excited style that marks so many of the faces in Alexandrine art, and this singular forehead may have been a mannerism of the Pergamene School, for it appears on the smaller slab in quite different themes. Yet the type of the giant head is a distinct creation, and the frieze, where far more powerful characterisation is found than in the dead giant of the Attalid group, is the culminating point in this creative process. In the later Roman representations of the gigantomachy, on the fragment of the frieze in the Vatican, and on the sarcophagus, the features are stereotyped into a conventional expression of ferocity, meaningless, and lacking distinction. In the giant of Wilton House a few old forms are preserved as it were in petrefaction.

There are two other works of art which demand special mention in this connection. In the *Archaeologische Zeitung* (p. 162, 1880) a short criticism of the so-called dying Alexander's head has been given by Blümner, who draws the indisputable conclusion that the work is Pergamene, and represents a dying giant; and Overbeck in his *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, ii. 112, goes so far as dogmatically to pronounce it a fragment of the altar-frieze itself. But this view is altogether untenable, not only because the head is on a larger scale than any that are seen on the frieze, but because there are no marks on it to show that it was ever attached to a background. If then it came from the frieze, it must have been altogether disengaged, and there are no heads yet discovered which are so treated. Nor is there any countenance on the frieze which does not differ from this in some essential points, and its likeness to the head of the giant who has been overthrown beneath the sea-Triton has been perhaps exaggerated; the pose of the neck is more restless and constrained in the Florentine work than in the latter, the throat is fuller and less firm, and while both show the characteristic treatment of the hair, the eyes, and mouth, yet there is much difference in the two expressions; for in the face of the giant

there is less contorted agony, less of the yearning for life, and the suffering is more subdued, so that there is pathos without weakness, and in accord with this difference of feeling the face is less marked with lines and depressions.

Another head that should be brought into the present comparison is the head of Laocoon, which while differing in many important respects from the Pergamene giant-type, has one marked point of resemblance: to serve the purposes of expression, the artist has so emphasised the fleshy parts of the face that the permanent bone-structure is hardly seen, and we may say of this as of many faces on the frieze, that the organism of the countenance, so to speak, is relaxed with pain. And this identity of treatment in the Rhodian and in some of the Pergamene work accords well with the resemblance which is obvious at first glance—and would be still closer if, according to the right theory of restoration, Laocoon's arm were placed over his head—between this *tour de force* of the Rhodian rhetorical plastic and the young giant encompassed by the serpent in the Pergamene group of Athene.

L. R. Farnell.

(*To be continued.*)

THE TALE OF SAINT ABERCIUS.

THE chief authority for the life of this saint is the biography by Symeon Metaphrastes, written about 900-50 A.D. It quotes the epitaph on the saint's tomb, and the question whether this epitaph is an original document of the second century A.D., or a later forgery, is one of the utmost importance for the early history of the Christian church, and of many literary points connected with it. The document is not very easily accessible, so that it may be well to quote it as it is given in the Life by Metaphrastes; the criticism of the text has been to a certain extent advanced by the metrical restorations proposed by Pitra and others.[1]

Ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως πολίτης τόδ' ἐποίησα ζῶν, ἵν' ἔχω καιρῷ σώματος ἐνθάδε θέσιν, τούνομ' Ἀβέρκιος ὁ ὢν μαθητὴς Ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ, ὃς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας οὔρεσι πεδίοις τε· ὀφθάλμους ὃς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντα καθορώντας. Οὗτος γάρ με ἐδίδαξε γράμματα πιστά· εἰς Ῥώμην ὃς ἔπεμψεν ἐμὲ βασίλειαν ἀθρῆσαι· καὶ βασίλισσαν ἰδεῖν χρυσόστολον χρυσοπέδιλον· λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐκεῖ λαμπρὰν σφραγῖδα ἔχοντα· καὶ Συρίης πέδον χώρας εἶδον καὶ ἄστεα πάντα, Νίσιβιν Εὐφράτην διαβάς· πάντας δ' ἔσχον συνομηγύρους Παῦλον ἔσωθεν. Πίστις δὲ παντὶ προῆγε καὶ παρέθηκε τροφὴν, ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς παμμεγέθη καθαρὸν ὃν ἐδράξατο Παρθένος ἁγνὴ, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέδωκε φίλοις ἐσθίειν διαπαντός· οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα κέρασμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου. Ταῦτα παρεστὼς εἶπον Ἀβέρκιος ὧδε γραφῆναι, ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ δεύτερον ἄγων ἀληθῶς. Ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὔξαιτο ὑπὲρ Ἀβερκίου πᾶς ὁ συνωδός. Οὐ μέντοι τύμβον ἕτερον τις ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐπάνω θήσει· εἰ δ' οὖν, Ῥωμαίων ταμείῳ θήσει δισχίλια χρυσᾶ καὶ χρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεραπόλει χίλια χρυσᾶ.

[1] See *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. 22.

Tillemont has argued that the life of the saint as written by Metaphrastes is a mere fiction, and that the epitaph is as worthless as the biography. He is much shocked with the levity of the epitaph, for the only incidents of his Roman journey recorded by the saint are his seeing the Empress in her gold robes and shoes, and the people who wore rings, *i.e.* the senators and equites:[1] he therefore condemns the epitaph as unworthy of 'sanctum senioremque episcopum, jamque moriturum.' Probably this disagreement between the style of the epitaph and the spirit of later Christianity would now be considered as one of its chief points of interest, and as an indication of its probable authenticity. But the arguments of Tillemont on historical grounds are so weighty that the epitaph could certainly not be quoted with confidence as historical, however much one might incline to count it genuine. In particular, Tillemont's argument that there was no room for Abercius and his successor in the list of bishops of Hierapolis was apparently unanswerable. It is quite clear that in the biography, Abercius is conceived as having lived a considerable time, and travelled much after his Roman visit in 163 A.D. He is succeeded by another Abercius; and yet it is a known fact that the bishop of Hierapolis in 171 A.D. was Apollinaris. In the next page it will appear how this difficulty has been done away with, much to my own surprise, by a paper which I recently wrote. We have reason to consider that our brief expedition during last autumn was specially favoured by fortune in having enabled M. l'Abbé Duchesne finally to restore to historical science a document of the second century.[2]

In the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique*, July 1882, I published an article on the three Phrygian cities, Hieropolis, Brouzos, and Otrous, which were previously mere names: nothing was known of them except that the second and third had struck coins under the Empire. The first, which occurs in the Byzantine lists as Hierapolis,[3] had been still more unfortunate. Its existence had been almost ignored, and it had been identified

[1] The words admit of a symbolical interpretation, see Lightfoot, *Epp. to Coloss., introd.*, p. 55 *ff.*

[2] See *Bulletin Litteraire*, Aug. 15, 1882.

[3] Though it is always called Hierapolis in literary authorities, I shall use the form Hieropolis, given on coins and inscriptions, for the sake of distinction.

with the far more important Hierapolis, also a Phrygian town, in the Maeander valley. The object of my paper was to prove that these three cities all lay in or close to the large and fertile valley of Sandukli, and that a general outline of their history could still be recovered. At the same time I proposed to assign certain coins, previously attributed to Hierapolis of the Maeander valley, to this Hieropolis: these coins bear the legend **ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ**. In this paper there were several points which rested on somewhat bold restorations or assumptions; and my first object is now to add some additional corroborations, which subsequent travel and M. Duchesne's discovery have enabled me to make. In particular I had hardly dared to trust my own judgment in restoring two lines of one inscription

ΟΝΗΒΟΥ
ΗΜΟΣΟ
ΝΕΠΙΜΕ

as [Σεβασ]τὸν, ἡ βου[λὴ καὶ ὁ δ]ῆμος Ὀ[τροηνῶ]ν, ἐπιμε[ληθέντων] κ.τ.λ., and in rejecting the alternative δῆμος ὁ Βρουζηνῶν as requiring more letters than the line could hold. The consideration that made the restoration Ὀτροηνῶν doubtful was the difficulty of placing three cities, all important enough to coin money, in one valley so near each other. But M. Duchesne has shown on other grounds that Otreus and Hieropolis were probably neighbouring cities.

I had also argued that the name Hieropolis might be taken as proof that the city was once the religious centre, on the analogy of Ephesus, Comana, and other towns in Asia Minor, of the whole surrounding district, whose inhabitants must then have been all the property of the temple (ἱερόδουλοι); and connecting this fact with one or two others, I ventured to rest on this hypothetical basis a reconstruction in outline of the history of the valley. During this summer, on a journey in Cappadocia which the kindness and scientific interest of Sir Ch. Wilson procured for me, I found three official decrees in Comana, which prove that the native and official name of that city was Hieropolis. These three decrees all begin Ἱεροπολειτῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

In this paper I published the following inscription, which

proves clearly that the epitaph of Abercius was already imitated in this valley in the beginning of the third century A.D.

...λέκτῆς πο..ως ο πολεί...οὖτ' ἐποί...ν ἔχω ΦΑΝΕ I. σώματος ἔνθα θεσιν οὐ.ομα .λέξανδρος Ἀντ. νιου .αθητὴς ποιμένος ἁγνοῦ. Οὐ μέντοι τυμβ· τις ἐμῷ ἕτερον τ.να θήσει. εἰ δ' οὖν Ῥωμαίων τα. εἰῳ θήσει δισ.είλιᾶ .ρυσᾶ, καὶ .ρηστῇ πατρίδ. Ἱεροπόλει .ειλι. .ρυσᾶ. Ἐγράφη ἔτει τ', μηνὶ ς', ζόντος. Εἰρήνη παράγουσιν κα. μν..κομένοις περι ἡ. ὧν.[1]

I did not recognise the importance of this inscription, except as being a monument of Christianity dated as early as the year 216 A.D. The oldest Christian inscription hitherto known in Asia Minor is dated in the year 279 A.D., but the well-known coin of Apameia in Phrygia, about thirty miles south of Hieropolis, furnished a proof that Christian (or Jewish) influence was strong in this district before the death of Septimius Severus, 211 A.D. On this coin, struck under this emperor, a man and a woman are represented standing before the ark and raising their hands to heaven: the ark bears the inscription **ΝΩΕ**. The very name of St. Abercius was unknown to me till I heard that M. Duchesne had discovered the relation of the inscription of Alexander to the epitaph of the saint. In the following notes I shall not touch on any of the literary and historical points about which M. Duchesne has promised an elaborate work; but I shall try from topographical considerations to make it probable that the legend as told by Metaphrastes is taken from an older literary source, that this older biography was written between the years 363 and 385 A.D., and that it merely gave written expression to a legend that had grown in the district around the remarkable tomb with the still more remarkable legend. Of course this is merely a presumption suggested as the most natural explanation of certain geographical considerations; it is liable to be overborne by stronger considerations derived from other points. I do not deny that the geographical facts may be consistent with a later date than I have assigned: but they are certainly more easily explained on this supposition, and they are absolutely inconsistent with an earlier date.

The tale of Saint Abercius is briefly as follows. Abercius was bishop of Hieropolis in Little Phrygia. Being moved to indig-

[1] Such faults of grammar and metre as occur in this inscription show that the Phrygians spoke very bad Greek.

nation by the sacrifices ordered by the Emperor Aurelius, he broke the statues of the gods in the temples of the city. When the populace was about to lay hands on him, he cured three men possessed with devils; the whole crowd was immediately converted, and 500 men were baptized. His many miracles procured him great fame. He was summoned to Rome to cure the Emperor's daughter Lucilla, who was possessed by a devil. He then travelled in Syria and Mesopotamia, and received from the churches there the title ἰσαπόστολος. He returned to Hieropolis, where he died at the age of seventy-two.

In the first place the biography presupposes the division of Phrygia into two provinces, which was made by Diocletian in remodelling the administration of the empire. The exact time when this remodelling was completed is uncertain; but the approximate date assigned by Mommsen is 297 A.D.[1] The two provinces were called Phrygia I. and Phrygia II. About 385 A.D. Phrygia II. had received the name Salutaris, and by 405 A.D. Phrygia I. had been called Pacatiana. These names, Phrygia Salutaris and Phrygia Pacatiana, continued to be used universally till the end of the Byzantine period. Pacatiana was the larger, richer, and more important province, and Justinian among his many alterations raised its governor to the rank of *comes*, and placed it on an independent footing. Before this time, about 535 A.D., it had been governed by a *consularis*, an official of lower rank than a *comes*, and both Phrygias were under the administration of the *Vicarius Dioceseos Asianae*. From this time onwards, Pacatiana was governed by a *comes*, who was co-ordinate in rank with the *Vicarius*, and not as before subject to him. Salutaris, however, as a less important province, continued to be governed by a consularis. Now the Life by Metaphrastes always says that Hieropolis was in Little Phrygia (Φρυγία Μικρά), and one passage implies the existence of two provinces, Great and Little Phrygia. These names have caused the commentators much difficulty. They thought of the older distinction into Phrygia Magna and Phrygia Epiktetos, and of the fact, true before 297 A.D., that Hierapolis was in Phrygia

[1] I need not here allude to the controversy that has arisen about Mommsen's theory as to the date of the Verona MS. The common dates for Silvius Polemius, and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, 385 and 405, may also be used as nearly true.

Magna. But the difficulty disappears when we observe that Metaphrastes refers to the period after the division by Diocletian; and it becomes certain that Phrygia I. and II. were also known as Phrygia Magna and Parva (*Μεγάλη, Μικρά*), although no other example occurs where the two provinces bear these names. The names Pacatiana and Salutaris had not come into use when the biography was written, and the old names persist when the original biography was over-written by Metaphrastes. I do not mean to assert that the name Salutaris suddenly supplanted the name Little Phrygia; the change was probably a slow one. But it is certain that the name Salutaris did come into use in the second half of the fourth century instead of the older forms Secunda or Parva, and that when it was once adopted it established itself throughout the Byzantine period as the common name. It is not improbable that Metaphrastes, when he took from his authority the traditional name Little Phrygia, did not know the real meaning of the phrase he was using. Now Hieropolis was in Salutaris or Parva Phrygia, and it thus becomes clear why we read in the biography *ὁ τῆς ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ Φρυγίᾳ τῶν Ἱεραπολιτῶν ἐπίσκοπος* (*sic*) and many similar expressions. The two provinces are distinctly implied in *συνέῤῥεον* (to Hieropolis) *οὐ τῆς μεγάλης μόνον Φρυγίας...ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τὴν Ἀσίαν ᾠκουν*. Before 297 A.D., there was no separate governor of Phrygia or of any part of Phrygia: the whole country was part of the province of Asia under a proconsul, and the official capital of Asia was Ephesus. But Synnada was the capital of Phrygia Salutaris,[1] and hence we read in the biography *Σύναδα* (*sic*) *τῆς μικρᾶς Φρυγίας μητρόπολιν*. Accordingly, Abercius was bishop of Hieropolis in the valley of Sandukli and not of Hierapolis in the Maeander valley, for the latter was in Phrygia Magna, or Pacatiana. The chronological difficulty above mentioned disappears, as Abercius and Apollinaris may have been contemporary. Finally, it appears that several names, Secunda and Parva, were used to designate this province of Phrygia, before the usual name

[1] M. Waddington *Fastes de Prov. d'Asie*, p. 27, has for once erred on this point. Arguing, I suppose, from the order of Hierocles who places Eucarpia first in his list, he says that the capital of Phrygia II. was Eucarpia: and it has been common to say that Eucarpia was the original capital, and Synnada the later capital. But Hierocles wrote about 530, and it is quite certain that Synnada was the capital both before and after his time.

Salutaris was devised; but the latter name came so early into general use that the older names hardly ever occur. A document which uses the name Parva may therefore be dated with the utmost probability between 297 and 385 A.D.

This conclusion is confirmed by another consideration. In the biography Phrygia Parva is governed by a *Praeses* or ἡγέμων (Ποπλίῳ τῆς μικρᾶς Φρύγιας ἡγεμονεύοντι, and later τοῦ ἡγεμονεύοντος ἐκεῖ Σπινθῆρος). Now about 405 A.D. both provinces of Phrygia were governed by a *Praeses* or ἡγέμων (*Notit. Dignit. Orient.* cap. I.).[1] But this arrangement was altered before 535 A.D.; for Hierocles, whose list falls before that year, says that both provinces were governed by a *consularis*. Justinian, in 535, placed Pacatiana under a *comes*, but left Salutaris or Parva under a *consularis*. Accordingly in this respect also the biography is true to the facts of an early date, and false to the facts of a later date.

It is equally certain that the biography was written after Constantinople was made the capital of the East (330 A.D.). Valerius and Bassianus, the two *magistriani* sent by the Emperor with his letter to Euxenianus, go first to Byzantium, taking ship from Brundusium. Thence they travel on the imperial post-road (δημοσίῳ δρόμῳ, δημοσίοις ἵπποις) to Synnada. I have in an article which will be published in the forthcoming number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* explained the revolution in the system of roads in Asia Minor caused by the foundation of Constantinople as capital of the East. Before that time all roads led to Ephesus; after that time all roads led to Constantinople. Under the older system the envoys would have landed at Ephesus and gone right up the great highway of Asia Minor by the Maeander and Lycus valleys to Apameia, and thence direct by a country road to Hieropolis, or else continuing along the great highway to Synnada they would have there diverged by a country path to Hieropolis. The proconsul of the province of Asia was always obliged by law to land at Ephesus first of all.[2] Cicero in going to Cilicia, landed there, and went by the great highway over

[1] This date is always given for the composition of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and is assumed by Mommsen, though the proof promised by Böcking, the editor, has not so far as I know been yet actually published.

[2] Waddington, *Fastes de Prov. d'Asie*, p. 16.

Laodiceia, Apameia, and Synnada, to his province.[1] This road explains why under the Republic these three *conventus* were placed under the governor of Cilicia, and not, as seems geographically natural, under the governor of Asia. The proconsul of Cilicia had to pass through Laodiceia, Apameia, and Synnada on his way; and hence it was arranged that he should hold the *conventus* at these towns going and returning, though they are so much nearer to Ephesus the seat of the Asian proconsul than they are to Tarsus the seat of the Cilician proconsul.

If the original biography which underlies the work of Metaphrastes had been written before 330 A.D., it would certainly have represented the imperial messengers as travelling by the imperial road from Ephesus. After the post-road by Nicomedeia and Dorylaion[2] to Iconium, which has existed ever since Constantinople became the seat of government, had been instituted, the official road to Synnada lay along this great road either to Lysias or to Cedrea, about LXXV. M.P. south of Dorylaion, or to Julia, a day's journey further on. At one of these places the road to Synnada, Apameia, and Baris diverged from it, and this was the road that the imperial envoys were, during the period after 330 A.D., naturally conceived as travelling by. It is certainly a very roundabout way from Rome, and so evidently the saint himself thought. He agreed to go to Rome, but sent the envoys to return as they came, travelling post on the post-road (δημοσίοις ἵπποις). But he himself refused to accompany them, and merely said he would meet them at Ostia in forty days. A native of Hieropolis knew that the easy and short way was by Attalia in Pamphylia, which still retains its old name, Adália, and its old importance as the chief seaport on this part of the southern coast. Five good days' journey would bring Abercius, passing along the easy valley behind (*i.e.* east of) Apameia, beside the fountains of the Obrimas and the lake Aulocrene, and thence through Baris to Attalia. Here he would constantly find homeward-bound ships engaged in the eastern trade, and so he arrived at Ostia three days sooner than the envoys with all the advantages of the imperial post. A touch like this makes it highly probable that the tale of Saint Abercius grew in the valley of Hieropolis.

[1] Cic. *Fam.* xv. 4, 2.

[2] On this road and on the site of Cedrea see an article in the *Mittheil. d. d. Instit. Athen*, 1882, p. 140.

The same accuracy in details is manifested in the description of the envoys' journey to Hieropolis. Along the post-road to Synnada, the capital of the province, they go with ease and without guides. When they reach Synnada, they have to diverge from the post-road, which goes straight south to Apamcia and Baris. Hieropolis is separated by a very rugged chain of volcanic mountains from Synnada, and the pass across this chain is a very unpleasant and tortuous one. Accordingly they got guides from Spinther, the *praeses* or ἡγέμων of the province, and reached Hieropolis the same day at the ninth hour. I have traversed all the roads near Synnada and Hieropolis, and can bear witness to the perfect accuracy of this incident. It impresses me strongly with the conviction that only a native of the district could have written the original narrative. On the other hand, the journey from the Peloponnesus to Byzantium is described in an absurd way.

The return journey of Abercius from Syria is also described accurately, but the terms are too general to found any inference upon.

Another passage narrows still further the period within which the tale must have been written down. In gratitude for the cure wrought on her daughter, the Empress Faustina, in the Emperor's absence, ordered at the saint's request that 3,000 medimni of corn should be given annually to the poor of Hieropolis, and this donation was continued until Julian put a stop to it (363 A.D.). The life of the saint must therefore have been written later than this date, and if there is any truth in my argument that it was written earlier than 385 A.D., it may be counted highly probable that some annual benefaction to the poor of Hieropolis, bequeathed perhaps by some pious soul, was actually seized by the officials of the Emperor Julian. Within such a short period it is improbable that the tale could grow without some foundation; and it is quite in accordance with historical verisimilitude that a Christian benefaction should be seized on at this time.

My argument, therefore, is that it is justifiable to regard the tale of Saint Abercius as a tradition and not, like the lives of some of the saints, as a mere legend. The historical facts contained are in the first place all that is vouched for in the epitaph; secondly, the rapid spread of Christianity in Phrygia during the second century; thirdly, the seizure by Julian of

a Christian benefaction to the poor of Hieropolis. It is not probable that there is any historical element underlying the tale of the Emperor's daughter. There was evidently a strong inclination, shown in some other tales, to make the good Emperor Aurelius into a semi-Christian, and moreover some of the incidents, especially the reference in 163 A.D. to an event that occurred in 180 A.D.,[1] and the Byzantine machinery of the court, are gross anachronisms. But the general course of the story of Lucilla fits so well into history, that it might almost seem as if some historical fact, perhaps quite unconnected with Abercius, lay at the foundation of it. According to Eckhel, Lucilla was betrothed to L. Verus, and was married to him in 164 A.D. Her father conducted her to Brundusium in 164 A.D., and Verus met her on her landing at Ephesus. She was born in 147 A.D. Now the biography says that when sixteen years of age, *i.e.* in 163 A.D., Lucilla was about to be conducted by her father to Ephesus to meet Verus, and that her sudden illness obliged the Emperor to postpone the marriage till the following year, making the excuse of disturbance on the German frontier. But a different train of reasoning is suggested by the letter of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius to Euxenianus Poplio summoning the saint to Rome. Euxenianus was resident at Hieropolis: it is implied that he was an official of high rank, in frequent communication with the Emperor (*ἦν τῶν παρὰ τῷ αὐτοκράτορί τε καὶ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ τὰς πρώτας ἐχόντων τιμάς. ᾧ πολλάκις περὶ δημοσίων ἐπέστειλας πραγμάτων*), and he is therefore presumably in authority in this part of Phrygia. But at the same time it is implied that he was governor of the province of Asia, for he was the agent through whom the Emperor relieved the distress of Smyrna caused by the great earthquake. His procurator Caelius is mentioned as concerned in this business. This distress and the relief given by the Emperor are historical facts: the earthquake took place in 180 A.D., and the letters of the rhetorician Aristides begging the Emperor for help to the city and thanking him for it when it was given are preserved. This letter must therefore have been composed at a time when Phrygia and Asia were under the same governor, *i.e.* before 297 A.D.; and it therefore preserves a form of the tale as it

[1] The earthquake that destroyed Smyrna, and the Emperor's generosity to the ruined city.

existed in the third century. It was incorporated by the writer of 363-85 A.D. in his biography, without his observing the contradiction between the office of Euxenianus and the office of Spinther or Poplius. He has rather slurred over the official character of Euxenianus, who must have been proconsul of Asia. He and his procurator Caelius are officers of the Roman Empire, the rest of the machinery in the tale belongs to the Byzantine Empire. It must be added that the reference to the Smyrna earthquake is made, according to the supposition in 163 A.D., seventeen years before it occurred; and this shows how the historical facts of the tale have been shuffled in the course of its growth. It is doubtful whether the incident of the Emperor's daughter occurred at all in the older form of the legend. In the Byzantine period Phrygia was wholly disjoined from Asia. The *Proconsul Asiae* ruled three provinces, *Asia, Insulae, Hellespontus:* the *Vicarius dioeceseos Asianae* ruled eight provinces, *Pamphylia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Lycaonia, Pisidia, Phrygia Pacatiana* and *Salutaris*.[1] While this division is inconsistent with the episode of Euxenianus and Caelius, it suits the rest of the tale very well, and in particular the opening of cap. ii., where it is said that people flocked to see Abercius not only from Great Phrygia and all the neighbouring districts, but from Asia and from the provinces of Lydia and Caria.

It follows that the local legends incorporated in the biography —the production of the hot-springs at Agros beside the river, the production of the fountain on the hill at the τόπος γονυκλισίας, the affliction of the villagers at Aulon with eternal insatiability in feeding, the place called Phrougis or Phragellion in the market-place of Hieropolis—all these must be tales current from old times in the district, and told doubtless of pagan divinities before they were transferred to a Christian saint. A similar transference of pagan tales to Christ and the Apostles is a well-known phenomenon in German folk-lore. In particular the tale how Abercius sat on the stone by the village of Aulon, and the villagers disregarded his entreaties, recalls the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα of the Eleusinian legend.[2]

[1] This arrangement is certain in 405 (*Not. Dign.*). The remarkable inscription of Poplius, given in *C.I.G.* 3188 after Constant. Porphyrog. *de Them.* l. 3, perhaps proves that the Proconsul of Asia was after 297 supreme ruler of all Asia Minor west of Armenia.

[2] On the native religion of Hieropolis see *Trois Villes Phrygiennes* in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882.

Only one fact is recorded in any historian about Abercius. Eusebius[1] mentions that an anonymous presbyter of Otrous wrote a tract on the Montanist heresy addressed to Avircius Marcellus. It is implied that this Avircius was a near neighbour of the bishop, and as the tract is apparently written about the beginning of the Montanist controversy in 171 A.D., it is exceedingly probable that he is identical with Saint Abercius. Le Quien had long ago conjectured that this was the case; and M. Duchesne now regards it as quite certain.

The epitaph shows clearly that Abercius was a man of mark in his own time, and that his tomb was a noticeable monument. It consisted of a square monolithic substructure, on which was placed an altar with the epitaph inscribed on it. A very remarkable early monument at Phocaea, carved out of the natural rock, proves that this form of monument was known in Asia Minor in the very earliest time: the monument has been very incorrectly engraved in the Smyrna Μουσεῖον, vol. ii., and I hope soon to give a more correct representation of it. The same form of monument appears in a curious relief,[2] now built into a house at Coula in the Katacecaumene on the borders of Lydia and Phrygia, which also I hope to publish hereafter. We may therefore conclude that the form was originally Phrygian. It is interesting to observe that the early Christians of Phrygia did not sever themselves by a social barrier from their pagan neighbours. On their tombs they employ some of the common pagan formulas; their tombs are made in the usual pagan form of the sepulchral altar, as has been remarked[3] about the epitaph of Alexandros quoted above; and they place their tomb under the protection of the public law. The word χρηστιανός, which is sometimes employed on their tombs,[4] is probably intentionally as much as possible assimilated to the ordinary pagan χρηστός. In later time, when Christianity had finally triumphed, the spelling χρηστιανός was proscribed as heretical.

The personality of Abercius formed a centre round which gathered a religious myth, containing the popular conception of the early history of Christianity in Phrygia. The incidents recorded in the epitaph were entwined with other historical and

[1] *Hist. Eccles.* V. 16.

[2] Referred to by Wagener, in vol. xxx. of the *Mem. of Academy* of Brussels.

[3] *Bulletin Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 520.

[4] Lebas, *Inscr. As. Min.* No. 727.

semi-historical facts: to these were added some ancient and originally pagan local legends about certain natural features of the district. No doubt the tale that the devil who was cast out of Lucilla, was ordered to carry a stone altar from the Hippodrome (*i.e.* the Circus Maximus perhaps) at Rome to Hieropolis to serve as the saint's tomb, was suggested by the peculiar form of the tomb with its sepulchral *βωμός* exactly resembling the old pagan monuments. Finally about 370 A.D. the local mythology was committed to writing, and the life of Saint Abercius took nearly the form that it has in the work of Metaphrastes.

There is one consideration which might overturn my argument, and that is the proof that there are no hot-springs near Hieropolis. It would then be necessary to suppose that the legend had not finally taken form till a much later time, when the hot-springs of Hierapolis were confused with the district of Hieropolis by some ignorant compiler. It is quite certain, however, that the description of the hot-springs given in the biography does not suit with those of Hierapolis: the former are said to be outside the city near a river, while the latter were inside the city and far from any river. If then it be discovered that there are hot-springs in the valley of Sandukli, this might be regarded as a conclusive proof that my theory is correct. I shall here quote the words I used on this subject in the paper already referred to,[1] written when the name and legend of Abercius were unknown to me: 'le nom d'Hieropolis implique que l'emplacement devait être désigné comme sacré par des caractères naturels, par exemple une source thermale ou quelque autre particularité semblable. Ceci pourrait aider un voyageur futur, disposant de plus de temps que nous n'en avions, à découvrir la situation exacte de cette ville.'

NOTE.—After the preceding remarks were already in print, I observed in Hamilton's *Travels*, ii. 169-70, that there is in the valley of Sandukli a river, Hamam Su, 'The Water of the Baths,' which recalls the "Αγρος *τῶν Θερμῶν*, as the hot-springs are called in the biography. Hamilton also says, "He pressed me to remain another day to visit some hot-springs which he affirmed were near the centre of the plain, about four miles to

[1] *Trois Villes Phrygiennes.*

the right of our road.' It may, therefore, be counted almost certain that the *Acta* of Metaphrastes follows faithfully an authority of the fourth century, embodying a genuine popular tradition, and not constructed by a legend-writer. The gradual growth of the tale in popular tradition is proved by the occurrence of elements dating from the third century, which do not harmonise with the usual fourth-century machinery of the biography. The tale may therefore be regarded as a clear example of the growth of a saint's life in the popular mind, and may even be employed with due caution as a testimony to history.

Another inference of some literary importance may be drawn. Metaphrastes has in this case faithfully reproduced an old authority, probably the same which underlies the account of the saint in the *Menologion Basilii*, 886 A.D. It is probable, therefore, that in his lives of other saints he was equally faithful, and that he deserves a much higher rank than is frequently assigned to him.

The confusion of the two towns Hierapolis and Hieropolis has produced much error in early Christian history. In the introduction to the Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon, p. 55 *ff.*, the Bishop of Durham has rightly caught the ring of genuineness in the epitaph of Abercius, but the longstanding geographical mistake made it impossible to explain the historical difficulties. Hence arise such statements as 'Hierapolis, though only six miles from Laodicea, belonged to the province of Salutaris, whose metropolis was Synnada. The Lycus seems to have formed the boundary line between the two provinces,' Pacatiana and Salutaris. Hierapolis of Salutaris must always be interpreted as the Hieropolis in the valley of Sandukli: Hierapolis near Laodicea is *always* assigned in the Byzantine authorities to Pacatiana. The Lycus is in the heart of Pacatiana.

The Bishop of Durham also, by a conjectural alteration of the text of Eusebius, makes Apollinaris the author of the tract on the Montanist controversy above referred to. The writer mentions in the course of the tract *τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ Ὀτρηνοῦ*, and mentions that Avircius Marcellus had frequently enjoined on him to write against the new heresy. It is, therefore, certain that the writer was a presbyter of some place near Hieropolis, and there is no reason to identify him with Apollinaris of Hierapolis.

The oldest Christian inscriptions known in Rome, dating 71, 107, and 204 A.D., are mere names with date. The Phrygian epitaph of Alexander, son of Antonius, 216 A.D., may therefore rank as the earliest inscription yet found which affords any evidence of the state of Christianity. In Rome an inscription of the year 217 A.D. is of much interest (see De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.*).

W. M. Ramsay.

VITYLO AND CARGESE;

An Episode from Later Greek History.

'Phocaeorum
Velut profugit exsecrata civitas
Agros atque Lares proprios.'

The central peninsula of the three that project from the south of the Peloponnese, which since the Middle Ages has been known as the district of Maina, is one of the wildest parts of Greece owing to its rugged mountains and rocky shores, and has always been the abode of independent and intractable races. The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus speaks of the Mainotes as having retained their primitive heathenism until the latter half of the ninth century.[1] At the present day they are notorious for their blood-feuds, which are the scourge of the country, and seriously interfere with its social life. On the western shore of this remote district, near a small harbour that runs in from the Messenian gulf, is the town of Vitylo, one of the comparatively few places in the Morea, though these are more numerous on the seaboard than in the interior, which have retained their classical name. It was formerly called Οἴτυλος, and this appellation now appears in the form Βοίτυλος, which accounts for its pronunciation as Vitylo. The modern form of the name is probably the original one, for Ptolemy calls the place Βίτυλα.[2] Rather more than two centuries ago this town was the scene of a remarkable emigration. At that time the Turks, who had made themselves masters of Crete in 1669, proceeded to attempt the subjugation

[1] Constant. Porphyr. *De Adm. Imp.* c. 50, vol. iii. 224, edit. Bonn.

[2] Ptolemy, iii. 16, § 22; see Leake's *Travels in the Morea*, i. p. 330.

of Maina. Spon and Wheler, who sailed round cape Matapan on their way to Constantinople in the summer of 1675, were told that the invaders had succeeded in reducing most of the country by means of forts built on the coasts—they seem to have been aided by the treachery of some of the inhabitants—and that part of the population had escaped to Apulia.[1] A few months after these travellers passed by, a number of the inhabitants of Vitylo and its neighbourhood, amounting to about 1000 souls, were persuaded by the Genoese to emigrate under their auspices to Western Europe. They were led by one of their countrymen, John Stephanopoulos, and were established by their new protectors in Corsica, which was at that time a Genoese possession; and in that island their descendants remain at the present day.

Ten years ago, when travelling in Corsica, I visited this community at the town of Cargese, on the western coast, a day's journey north of Ajaccio, where, after various vicissitudes of fortune, principally caused by the jealousy of the Corsicans, who drove them out from their original habitation, they have now been settled nearly seventy years. They number about 400 souls, and still retain many of their Greek characteristics. Though one of the stipulations made by the Genoese at the time of the migration was that they should acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, yet their priests still wear the dress of the Greek Church, and they employ in their public worship, with some modifications, the same service-books which they brought with them from Greece. Their family names, too, are almost all Greek, and all the older inhabitants speak Romaic, and display a strong enthusiasm for everything connected with their mother-country. In this respect, however, a change is rapidly passing over the community at large. For those who use the Greek language are at least equally familiar with the Corsican, and comparatively few of the younger generation either speak Greek, or profess an interest in their nationality. The fact is, they have discovered that their isolation is an impediment in the way of their advancement, and are beginning to wish to be identified with their Corsican neighbours. It appeared to me quite evident that their extinction as a separate Greek

[1] Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, Lond. 1682, p. 47; Spon, *Voyage d' Italie*, &c. Amst. 1679, vol. i. p. 122.

colony was only a question of time. It was, therefore, with the greater satisfaction that I obtained a number of the popular Greek ballads which are sung at that place, and have been handed down by oral tradition among the people. They were collected for me by one of the priests of the place, Papa Michael Stephanopoulos, a kinsman of the original leader, and an intelligent person; and were afterwards published in the *Journal of Philology*[1] under the title of 'Modern Greek Ballads from Corsica.' They display all the usual features, in respect of metre, treatment, and expression, of those that are found in Greece.

My visit to this Greek colony subsequently inspired me with a desire to see the spot from which they originally came, and to discover what traditions might remain there of the migration, and what points of correspondence, if any, might be traced between the inhabitants of the two places. This I succeeded in doing in the course of September 1882, in company with my friend Mr. Crowder. We reached Vitylo after seven hours riding from Marathonisi—or Gythium, as it is now called, for the title of the ancient port of Sparta, the ruins of which are close by, has now been officially adopted. Not far from this place a deep valley, forming throughout a considerable portion of its length a narrow gorge, cuts through the range of Taygetus almost from the Laconian to the Messenian gulf; but as it approaches the latter, the ground gradually rises to a pass, from the summit of which both gulfs are visible, and then falls steeply to the bay of Vitylo. The town of that name occupies a plateau on the northern side of this, from which the ground descends abruptly 700 feet to the valley at the head of the bay, being occasionally broken by terraces supported by extremely steep walls. Many of the houses stand on the edge of the precipice. Behind, about a mile off, a screen of lofty mountains shelters it towards the north-east, and the warmth of the climate is shown by the presence of the prickly-pear, which grows there abundantly. The road by which it is reached is perhaps the worst of all the breakneck paths of this rugged district, being little more than a zigzag track worn in the honeycombed limestone rocks.

[1] Vol. vi. pp. 196, foll.

The town is divided into quarters, each quarter being occupied by a certain family or clan; and, as it happened, that in which we obtained a lodging belonged to the family of the Stephanopouli. The houses are constructed on the principle which prevails throughout Maina, and imparts a peculiar appearance to the towns and villages of that country. Owing to the prevalence of the *vendetta*, it is necessary that every precaution should be taken to prevent surprise, and consequently 'every man's house is his castle' in the strictest sense of the words. All are built separate from one another, and each possesses a tower or keep, of greater or less height, which serves as a final place of refuge. The house in which we stayed may be taken as an example. It was entered through a court or enclosure, and on the lower story were stables and other chambers; above these were several rooms, which were reached by a door at some height up in the wall, underneath which a stone projected to serve as a step for mounting. Over the central room rises the tower, to which the ascent was made in one corner through a trap-door by a flight of steep stone stairs; it contained a single chamber, the floor of which was of concrete, while in three of its four walls were three small windows, one of which commanded a view of the bay, and another of the Frankish castle of Kelepha, which stands on a similar level, separated from Vitylo by a deep ravine. This room was assigned to us as our habitation. It is said that some persons, who have been compromised by a blood-feud, have occupied such a house for twenty years together without once leaving it.

The first of the inhabitants who visited us in this apartment, though they had heard of the emigration to Corsica, knew very little about it. They treated it as a matter of history, an event which had happened very long ago, and for which they could not be expected to care. However, they undertook to communicate the fact of our arrival to those of their number who were best acquainted with the subject, and accordingly, in the course of the evening the physician of the town and another gentleman, M. Zanglès, presented themselves. The former of these was quite a man of the old school, for he wore the *fustanella* and a large belt containing pistols; but I afterwards found that, owing to the blood-feuds, the custom of wearing arms, which is now disused in most parts of Greece, is

maintained throughout Maina. His companion was dressed in the costume of Western Europe. When I had given them an account of the people of Cargese, they expressed lively satisfaction at obtaining authentic information about their countrymen and relatives in a distant land, and made various inquiries about them—amongst others, whether they had any political influence in Corsica. They were well aware of the migration having taken place, though the *ἰατρός* was under the impression that it was at the instigation of the Venetians, on which point M. Zanglès corrected him. They had also heard something of the subsequent history of the colony—for instance, their having been forced to change their abode; but they did not seem to know the name of Cargese. They also referred to the belief—though, apparently, without any strong confidence in its truth—that Buonaparte was of Vityliote descent. This is based on the idea that Buonaparte was originally a translation of *Καλόμερος* or *Καλόμοιρος*, which is found as a family name among the Greeks, and that the family of the great Corsican came from the Greek settlement: indeed, it has been affirmed that the people of Cargese possess a genealogy by which they can prove it, though for political reasons they keep it secret. Some of this information seemed to have been derived from a pamphlet on the subject of the Corsican Greeks by M. Pappadopoulos of Athens, which one of our visitors possessed, but the leading facts had probably been handed down by tradition on the spot, for Colonel Leake, who visited Vitylo in 1805, speaks of them as being known at that time, including even the Buonaparte legend.[1]

At last I produced my ballads from Corsica, the mention of which excited great interest. My object was to discover whether these would be recognised at Vitylo, so as to justify the belief that the same songs which were transplanted to Corsica continue to exist on their native soil. By this time my audience had increased, for the heads of several persons, men of a lower class, who were standing on the staircase, appeared through the aperture of the trap-door; and their presence rendered it easier to test the local knowledge. The result of the recitation was this. They seemed to be acquainted, though not familiar, with

[1] Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i. p. 314.

all, or almost all, the ballads; that is to say, one or other of them could take up the recitation from time to time, and add half a line, and sometimes two or three lines. One of the ballads, which is called 'The Cruel Mother' (Ἡ κακὴ μάνα), and describes a son being driven from his home by unkindness, they said was sung by the women of the place. And when I came to the distich which runs—

κρέμασε ταὶς πλεξίδες σου ὄξου στὸ παναθύρι,
νὰ κάμω σκάλα ν' ἀνεβῶ νὰ σὲ φιλῶ στὰ χείλη—

(Hang down your braids outside the window, for a ladder for me to climb by, that I may kiss your lips)—

one of them exclaimed, 'Why! that is what the little boys and girls here sing to one another in the streets.' Occasionally, as might be expected, their version of a line differed by a few words from mine. Thus in the song which commences—

κάτω στὴν ἄμμο σὲ ῥημονῆσι
ἀετὸς ἐβγῆκε νὰ κυνηγήσῃ·
δὲν κυνηγάει λαγὼς καὶ ἀλάφια,
μὲν κυνηγάει τὰ μαῦρα μάτια—

(Down by the shore of the desert island—an eagle went out to the chase;—he does not hunt hares or stags;—the object of his chase is dark eyes)—

the Vityliote version of the second line was, *Τοῦρκος ἐβγῆκε νὰ κυνηγήσῃ*. On the whole, there is sufficient reason for thinking that these songs survive on the spot, and by a further inquiry one might have discovered persons among the natives who could recite them throughout. There is a grain of scientific interest in the inquiry, because it goes some way towards determining the age of the Romaic ballads generally. As I have already pointed out in the *Journal of Philology*, most of the poems from Corsica have their counterpart in the collections of ballads that have been made in Greece, the correspondences and differences being such as to show that there has been no borrowing of one from the other: and as the Corsican colony seems, ever since its departure from the mother-country, to have been cut off, at all events until quite lately, from communication with Greece, these songs must be at least two

centuries old. The evidence for their being primitive Greek poems is strengthened by our discovering that a traditional acquaintance with them exists in the place from which the colony started, though, like the rest of the Romaic ballads, they have been orally transmitted. As an additional point of similarity between the two places, I may mention that both at Cargese and Vitylo I found that the letter κ had a soft pronunciation. Thus, ἐκεῖ was pronounced *etche*, Κέλεφα (the name of the fortress), *Tchelefa ;* and the same was the case with other words. I noticed this peculiarity also at Gythium, but, as far as my observation goes, it is not found in the Peloponnese except in Maina, though it is common enough in Crete, and also in some of the islands of the Aegean.

The migration, of which an account has now been given, though it is an event of small importance in history, is interesting in itself, and bears a curious resemblance to that of the Phocaeans to Massilia, both in the circumstances which caused it and the direction which it took. It may have been worth while to give some account of the state of the two communities, at a time when there appears to be a prospect of their being forgotten, and forgetting one another.

H. F. Tozer.

SOME POINTS IN THE LATER HISTORY OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

It is, I believe, at least a tolerated doctrine within the precincts of the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies that the Hellenic tongue is not dead. Nay, I trust that it may be also a tolerated doctrine if I hold that the Hellenic tongue is now alive, not in the sense of having come to life after ages of death, but in the sense of never having been dead at all. At the meeting which called our body into being, words were spoken, not casual words from the lips of any casual speaker, but words of authority spoken from the chair, which ruled, plainly enough at least for me, that our researches, whether into art or language or any other branch of the study of Greek history and Greek life, were not to be shut up within the bounds of a few arbitrarily chosen centuries. When, five years back, I stood on the plain of Olympia, the hills which looked down on that plain looked down on a living summary of the life of the Greek people from the days of Iphitos to the days of Justinian. Among the buildings of which the foundations, and something more than the foundations, had been brought to light, there were representatives of at least four distinct epochs. There were two stages of purely native work, two stages of work in which other elements were added to those which were native. There were temples of older and later Hellenic art; there was the work of the pagan Roman; there was the work of the Christian, whom we may call Greek or Roman at pleasure. This last work took the form of a basilica of the highest interest, one which, as the history of the place shows, can hardly be later than Justinian's day. To him who looks at the changes, whether of polity or art or language, from the wide point of the œcumenical historian,

each of these four was as precious as the other; the fourth was, on some grounds perhaps, the most precious of all. The Church had special peculiarities of its own, and, if it had none, its historical value was at least equal to that of its fellows. It closed the series, a series which in some places might be lengthened at either end. On the slope of Akrokorinthos we may study a far longer series, a series reaching from primæval walls to Turkish mosques. Why is the series longer on Akrokorinthos than it is at Olympia? Because a natural stronghold like Akrokorinthos was occupied as a stronghold by all the masters of the land from the earliest to the latest; while Olympia, not a fortress, not a city, but simply a holy place, never acted as the stronghold of a primæval settlement and seems to have been wholly swept away in the Slavonic inroads. Hence at Akrokorinthos we have monuments of the very earliest and of the very latest times; at Olympia we have nothing primæval, nothing mediæval, while we have everything that comes within those two limits. But the longer and the shorter volume of history written in stone and brick appeal alike with equal strength to our historic sense. We cannot afford to lose the monuments of any stage in the long life of the Greek people. But I found that at Olympia the fourth of the stages there represented was utterly despised, and that by men who professed to have a regard for the art and history of Greece. The destruction of the basilica was calmly talked of, as a possible means towards finding out something more about the remains of an earlier time. What was talked of at Olympia has been done at Athens, and the akropolis has lost the living memorial of one remarkable period of Athenian history, in the destruction of the ducal tower. And this too was done, not by professed barbarians, but by men who were supposed to have a reverence for the place which they were so cruelly robbing of one of the chief monuments of its long and varied destinies. True, the tower of the dukes did not belong to any of the choicest forms of art; it did not show the skill either of the age of Pheidias or of the age of Anthemios. But neither does the wall of Themistoklês or that older primæval wall which still lurks among the buildings of the Pheidian age. In the eye of general history, all the monuments of history, all the works of defence which have shielded that oft-contested height, from the mythical

kings to the days of Church and the last Odysseus, all are alike entitled to respect and preservation, as living pieces of the history of the Greek land and the Athenian city. All alike, I venture to say, come within the range of a body whose subject of study is Greece and the Greek people, from the first legendary beginnings of their history to their end which happily is not yet.

What is true of monuments is equally true of language. The history of the Greek tongue has two marked characteristics. No people has clung more steadily than the Greeks have done to the use of its language; but among no people has the use of that language been for many ages so distinctly artificial. I have often told the story of a scholar, most distinguished in his own narrow range of scholarship, who refused to read Polybios, because he wrote 'bad Greek.' Now at first sight it might seem enough to answer that languages will change, that nothing can stop them from changing, that to call the language of Polybios 'bad Greek,' because it is not the language of Thucydides is as unreasonable as it would be to call the language of Thucydides 'bad Greek,' because it is not the language of Homer. It is like calling the language of Tennyson 'bad English' because it is not the language of Chaucer, or calling the language of Chaucer 'bad English' because it is not the language of Cædmon. But this answer, though true as far as it goes, does not go to the root of the matter. It fails to notice the peculiar history of the Greek tongue. He who said that Polybios wrote 'bad Greek' had got hold of a truth, though he had got hold of it by the wrong end. If by 'bad Greek' we mean Greek which is not strictly natural to the writer, we must allow the Greek of Polybios to be bad Greek, and we must pronounce the same judgement on some Greek a good deal older than that of Polybios. Some of my strictly classical friends will hold up their hands in horror, if I ask them to welcome the whole *Corpus Historiæ Byzantinæ* as written in Attic Greek. But there is a point of view in which so it is. The great mass of Byzantine Greek is certainly very far from Attic in its style, its spirit, or even its vocabulary. But it is essentially Attic all the same; it is at least as Attic as it knows how to be, in all that really constitutes language or dialect, the constructions and forms of words. In these points ordinary Byzantine Greek certainly

differs a good deal less from the Greek of Xenophôn than the Greek of Xenophôn differs from the Greek of Homer or even from the Greek of Herodotus. It is Attic in the sense of having Attic models before it, and not Doric, Ionic, or Æolic models. But we may be quite certain that, at no time from the first to the last Constantine, was such Greek as this spoken in the streets of Constantinople or Thessalonica, to say nothing of the more out-of-the-way parts of either Europe or Asia. I am not now going into the history of popular Greek, mediæval or modern, spoken or written; I wish to confine myself now wholly to the strictly literary Greek; but it is an essential part of my case that there was a popular Greek distinct from the literary Greek. Thucydides and Xenophôn wrote as they spoke; Theophanês and Nikêtas did not. But my point is that writers older by many ages than Theophanês and Nikêtas, writers not so very much younger than Thucydides and Xenophôn, did exactly the same. If Theophanês did not write as he spoke, so neither did Prokopios; if Prokopios did not, so neither did Plutarch; if Plutarch did not, so neither did Polybios; if Polybios did not, so neither did Aristotle. All these writers wrote in a language essentially different from what they heard from their mothers, while I conceive that Thucydides and Xenophôn wrote a language essentially the same as what they heard from their mothers.[1] I do not indeed suppose that the mother of Thucydides spoke to him exactly in the style of his speeches; but I conceive that she used pretty much the same forms of words, and that, if her constructions differed from his, they differed certainly as being simpler, most likely as being more accurate. But I feel sure that the mother of Theophanês, and still more that the mother of Nikêtas, spoke each one to her son in a language not a little different from that in which their sons wrote their histories. And I am sure that the mother of Polybios and the mother of Aristotle did the same. The difference between literary Greek and common spoken Greek is not merely the kind of difference which exists almost everywhere between colloquial and literary language. That kind of difference

[1] I was going to add 'nurses,' as one would in speaking of any modern tongue; but then the nurses of Thucydides and Xenophôn would very likely be barbarians, and in any case not Athenian citizens. Indeed I had forgotten the chance that Thucydides may have had a Thracian mother.

involves a different style and often a different vocabulary; it does not involve different forms of words. The difference between the written and the spoken language of any of the Greek writers of whom I have been speaking answers rather to the difference between the written and the spoken language of a literary Scotsman of the last century. Such an one talked Northern English, but he wrote Southern. So, from Aristotle to Chalkokondylês, men spoke whatever form of Greek was natural in their own time and place; they wrote what, during the whole of that period, I venture to call Attic.

In this wide use of the Attic name I know full well that I am leaping over several distinctions which are made, and rightly made, by minute classical scholars. There is Attic; there is what some call Hellenic; there is again revived Attic. Writers like Lucian, many ages later than Polybios, come nearer to natural Attic than Polybios does. So, ages later again, Nikêtas is, or means to be, a vast deal more classical than Theophanês thought of being. Changes of this kind, natural and artificial, will always happen. But, in the teeth of all these changes, I maintain that a greater change than any had gone before them. Before any of these authors wrote, it had been ruled for ever that the standard of Greek prose should be Attic. Whatever forms of words came most naturally to a man's lips, in his literary compositions he used the Attic forms. To Polybios it must have been much more natural to talk Doric; to Nikêtas it must have been much more natural to talk something which was on the high road to what we call Romaic or Modern Greek. But neither of them wrote as it was most natural for him to speak. Each wrote something which, to say the least, came much nearer to the language of Xenophôn than the language of Xenophôn comes to the language of Homer. Widely as the writers of whom I have spoken differ in style and spirit and even in vocabulary, they agree in language strictly so called. None of them, for instance, would have made his datives plural end in *-οισι* and *-ῃσι* instead of *-οις* and *-αις*.

Now for men to speak one kind of Greek and to write another was not unheard of in other cases both before and after the time which I should fix for the beginning of my series of artificial Attic writers. Doric, for instance, or something so called, was

the traditional dialect for certain kinds of poetry, as we see both in the choral songs of the tragedians and in the pastorals of Theokritos. And those who ages afterwards imitated epic, elegiac, or iambic metres, naturally imitated the language of those who had used those metres in earlier times. Agathias, Attic—in my sense—in his history, does not attempt to be Attic in his epigrams. He attempts to be something else which is quite as different from the language of his history as either was from anything that he could have talked. And a thousand years before, when it had not yet been settled that Greek prose must be Attic, Herodotus, who must have naturally talked Doric, thought good to write his history in Ionic. To speak one form of Greek and to write another was therefore nothing wonderful from an early stage of Greek written literature. And doubtless this habit made the way more easy for the wonderful fact that, from the fourth century B.C. onwards, Greek prose should have stiffened for ever, and that the dialect of Athens should become for all time the one standard of literary composition. I say, for all time; for even the revived Greek of our own day is Attic as far as it can be; it imitates Attic forms, not Ionic, Doric, or Æolic forms.

It is really a very wonderful phænomenon that one form of the language, as the language stood in the fourth century B.C., should go on with so little change as the standard of written language till the fifteenth century A.D., while it was all the while departing more and more from any form of the spoken language. It would be hard to find a parallel to this fact, at all events on so great a scale, in the history of any other European language. There is nothing like it, for instance, in the history of our own language. Philologically modern English stands to Old-English in the same relation in which modern Greek stands to ancient Greek. But the history of the older and newer forms of the language is wholly different in the two cases. In the case of Greek, the older form lived on alongside of the newer in a way in which it did not live on in the case of English. In England, as everywhere else, one dialect came to the front, and became the literary language, to the exclusion of other forms of the common tongue. It follows necessarily that there have been times and places, as very conspicuously in the Scottish case which I have already spoken of, in which men have spoken one

form of English and written another. But we have nothing in English answering to the abiding literary life of one form of Greek. The gap between written and spoken English has never been very wide. The written form has influenced the spoken, and the spoken form has influenced the written. The dialect which became the literary language has gone far to displace its fellow dialects even in ordinary speech. And the written language has changed from age to age, almost from day to day. The change from the English Chronicles to a modern English book is a change of quite another kind from the change from Xenophôn to the last Byzantine, or even from the change from Homer to the last Byzantine. The history of spoken Greek has not been very different from the history of spoken English. But the history of written Greek has been very much as if the English Chronicles had fixed the standard of literary prose composition to this day.

Nor is the history of Greek in this matter exactly analogous to the history of Latin. Latin has been used yet more largely than Greek as the literary language of men who spoke some other tongue. But it has not been so largely used as Greek has been as the literary language of men who spoke, not another tongue, but another dialect of the same tongue. Latin has been largely used in this character, but not nearly so largely as in the other; while Greek for many ages past has been comparatively little used except by those whose own native tongue was Greek in some shape. The vocabulary of the Romance languages is enough to show that in the Augustan age written and spoken Latin must have differed a good deal. And, if we see the beginnings of modern Greek in the Iliad, we may trace up several peculiarities of modern French to the colloquial Latin of Plautus. Again we must remark that, as a matter of philology, the Romance languages stand to Latin as modern Greek stands to ancient, but that the history of the two cases is widely different. The real likeness between the two cases is largely hidden by the accident that the spoken Latin parted asunder, and became several Romance languages. Whether the spoken Latin was in every case strictly Latin, or whether it ever contained traces of other Italian dialects distinct from Latin, is an earlier question. So some have believed that they had found in some forms of modern Greek traces of dialects

older than any written Greek that we have. I am not concerned with either question; I take written and spoken Greek, written and spoken Latin, as I find them, without asking how the distinction between the two first came about. Spoken Greek, on the other hand, remains in our own day a single language, with dialectic differences certainly, but with those differences less strongly marked than in most other languages. In Western Europe men gradually found out, sooner in one land, later in another, in the tenth century in Gaul,[1] in Italy seemingly not till the thirteenth, that the *lingua Latina* that they wrote and the *lingua Romana* that they spoke had practically become two different tongues. The result was nothing short of the vernacular literatures of Provence, France, Spain, and Italy, each of them, be it remembered, a literature which existed for a long while alongside of a still vigorous Latin literature. Now it would be untrue to say that there is nothing analogous to this in the case of Greek; for there arose, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, a vernacular mediæval Greek literature alongside of the Byzantine literature, a literature which exactly answers to the vernacular literature of the Romance languages. It differs from it only in extent and importance; but then it differs from it so widely in extent and importance as almost to destroy the parallel for historical purposes. Still less is there anything in the case of Greek answering to the history of that vernacular literature of England, Germany, and other Teutonic countries which grew up alongside of a Latin literature in their own land. No doubt many people in various ages have written in Greek while their native tongue was something else. Marcus Aurelius wrote in Greek, though his native tongue was Latin, and Ali Pasha wrote, or caused others to write, in Greek, though his native tongue was Albanian. But Marcus wrote Greek out of mere fashion, like the use of French in

[1] Besides the famous specimen of 'Romana lingua' in the ninth century in Nithard, iii. 5, I have collected several instances of the use of 'lingua Romana' or 'Gallica' (Norman Conquest, i. 618), in the ninth and tenth centuries. It had become so distinct from Latin that Latin was interpreted into it. In the eleventh century French literature begins. But in the twelfth Frederick Barbarossa speaks Latin as well as German. The 'lingua Romana' of Italy—where I think the phrase is not used—was still not recognized as a separate tongue, any more than any Romance tongue was in Charles the Great's day.

England in the fourteenth century and in Germany in the eighteenth. Ali wrote Greek, because there was nothing else to write; his own Albanian had hardly reached the rank of a written tongue. Neither of these instances nor others of the same kind—instances which the Macedonian kingdoms must have supplied by crowds—is at all parallel to such facts as the growth of English literature alongside of the Latin which, from the days of Augustine, was written alongside of it. Latin was a language which remained in use for ages for certain literary purposes, alongside of great and growing vernacular literatures, some of which had sprung up in tongues which had once been dialects of Latin, others in tongues which were wholly distinct. The history of Greek is very much what the history of Latin would have been, had there been only Italy, and no Gaul, Spain, Germany, or Britain. In that case there might well have been to this day a written Latin alongside of a vernacular Italian, answering to Byzantine and Romaic Greek. And when we remember how much the great Italian writers of the thirteenth century were stirred up by the earlier literature of France and Provence, we may doubt whether, in the case that I have put, the vernacular Italian, answering as the one Romance tongue to the one Romaic Greek tongue, would have reached anything like the same developement which it did reach as one Romaic language out of several.

It is then a peculiarity in the history of the Greek language that one of its forms became the one standard of prose writing, and went on, say roughly for two thousand years, with wonderfully little change, as the literary speech of men who were all the time speaking other forms of the same language. Of the popular speech, as is usual in all times and places where there is a separate popular speech, we get specimens only now and then, till we reach the time of the mediæval Greek literature which follows the Latin conquest. But we must not forget that we have in the New Testament an unique specimen of one kind of Greek distinct from any other. The Greek of the New Testament shows, as I need not stop to prove, distinct signs in the direction of Romaic; still we cannot call it a specimen of popular Greek as spoken by any kind of people to whom Greek was their native tongue. It is the Greek of men whose natural tongue was something else, and who had not studied under

Greek rhetoricians. It probably represents the kind of Greek which was the common means of communication among Eastern provincials who did not understand one another's languages. But in this light it does not directly concern our present inquiry. We are not dealing with Greek, as written and spoken by men who wrote and spoke some other language more familiarly. We are dealing with it as written by men who both wrote and spoke Greek more familiarly than any other language, but who wrote it in one shape and spoke it in another.

Now some one may perhaps say that a language which is in this sort artificially preserved is in any sense a dead language. If any one does so, I must venture altogether to deny his proposition. I have always rested the claims of the Greek and Latin tongues as instruments of instruction on the ground that they are not 'dead languages,' but living, the most living in truth of all languages. The tongue of the Hittites is dead, and the tongue of the Egyptians can hardly be said to be alive; but the old tongues of Greece and Latium still live, both in themselves and in their children. But the literary Greek, from Aristotle to Chalkokondylês, was not a dead language, even in the sense in which people fancy Greek to be dead now. The choice of a literary dialect might be said to be in some sort artificial and arbitrary, but it was merely the choice of one dialect of the ordinary tongue out of others. A native Athenian doubtless went on for many generations writing as he spoke. But men to whom other forms of Greek came more naturally to speak paid the native Athenian the compliment of writing —and no doubt of speaking also on all solemn occasions— in his dialect instead of in their own. The gap between the written and the spoken language gradually widened; but they still remained two dialects of the same tongue. When the literary standard was fully established, when a man who wrote Greek had hardly any choice left as to what kind of Greek he would write, the written language almost ceased to be artificial. If it came naturally to such a man to speak one form of the language, it came almost as naturally to him to write another form. And though the written language changed wonderfully little for many ages, yet it could not wholly escape the laws which affect all languages. It could not wholly escape change. It could not wholly escape that kind of gradual change

which we may call unconscious, the effect of those changes in men's thoughts and feelings which cannot fail insensibly to influence, not merely their style of writing, but their language itself. Nor could it escape that more conscious kind of change which also affects all languages, whenever it is found necessary to coin or to adopt new words to express new ideas or foreign objects. Under these influences, though Attic models set the standard, yet men could not write exactly as the native Athenians of a past day had written. And the more naturally and the less consciously they wrote, the further they would depart from the models which they set before their eyes. Hence those deviations from the strict Attic standard which scholars note in the writers of the Macedonian period; hence too, by the law of reaction, the conscious return to a nearer approach to the old Attic in the writers under the Roman Empire. Now all these changes backwards and forwards are the surest sign that the Greek tongue, even the literary form of the Greek tongue, was still essentially a living thing. Men who were after all writing in their own language, though in a different form of that language from that which they spoke at their own hearths, could not bind the living instrument of their thoughts to the exact pattern of any past time. They were not like an eminent Latin scholar who objected to the words 'imperialis' and 'episcopus,' because Cicero nowhere used them. Cicero had never heard of emperors or bishops; so he could not well use the words which specially described them; but it would hardly have gendered to clearness of style if those who could not help writing about emperors and bishops had felt themselves bound always to speak of them in language which befitted only consuls and high pontiffs. To act in this way is indeed, if a language be not already dead, to kill it outright. Happily neither the Greek nor the Latin tongue was ever tied and bound by such a bondage as this. Both threw off new forms, or called back old forms to life, as the needs of human thought and human speech called for them. Because it was not a dead language but a living one, because those who wrote it no more thought themselves bound to limit their vocabulary by that of Cicero than Cicero thought himself bound to limit his by the vocabulary of the Arval Brethren—because they dared

'Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis,'

the tongue of Rome kept its place for all time as the imperial and œcumenical tongue, the tongue alike of the successor of Augustus and of the successor of Saint Peter.

The destiny of the later stages of the Greek tongue has hardly been so great as this. Greek, like Latin, remained, even in its somewhat artificial literary form, a living tongue, still keeping the same general standard, but never losing the power either of coining new words from its own substance or of borrowing words from other tongues. So far as the history of the Greek and the Latin tongues differed, the difference was mainly caused by the different relations in which they stood to those parts of the Empire in which they severally became dominant. Latin became dominant in the West; Greek became dominant in the East. Yet Greek never became to the Eastern lands of the Empire and to their Slavonic conquerors all that Latin became to the Western lands of the Empire and to their Teutonic conquerors. It could not be so, for the simple reason that Greek was Greek and not Latin. The tongue of the Roman Empire, as the Roman Empire, was naturally Latin alike in its Eastern and its Western provinces. It did not cease to be a Roman Empire speaking the Latin tongue, when its sovereign reigned at Greek Nikomêdeia or Antioch, any more than it did when its sovereign reigned in Gaulish Trier or in British York. The change of Byzantium into Constantinople was in theory the foundation of the greatest of Roman colonies, a Roman colony which was, by the law of its being, called on to speak the Latin tongue. We are so used to think of Constantinople as a Greek city, and of its literature as a Greek literature, that we are apt to forget how long Latin went on as the official speech of the Eastern Empire as well as of the Western. It was in the nature of things that Greek should displace Latin in the East, and in the end it did displace it; but the process was a slow one. For a long time, while Greek was the language of religion and literature, Latin remained the language of government and warfare. Now this fact, that the Roman Empire in the East spoke with two tongues, while in the West it spoke with one tongue only, made it impossible that either Latin or Greek should be in the East all that Latin was in the West. Where Greek had not taken root, the field was open for Latin; its fruit is shown in the one

Romance people, the one Romance language, of the East, balancing the many Romance nations and many Romance languages of the West. Latin has lived on in the East to our own day; but, as it was unable to displace Greek where Greek was established, so, where there was no Greek to displace, it lived on only as a popular dialect. Though the East can show a Romance language, it cannot show a Romance literature. But in the East, it was only within the bounds of the Empire, among the provincials of the Empire, that Latin won even this measure of success. On the Eastern invaders of the Empire, those who came as at once conquerors and disciples, the two tongues of the Empire in the East failed to have the same effect which the one tongue of the Empire had on the invaders of the West. Neither Greek nor Latin ever became to the Slaves what Latin became to the Teutons. We see this in our own times in the most important relation of all. Not many ages back all Western Europe prayed in Latin. Nearly all the Romance part of Western Europe, and a considerable part of Teutonic Europe, prays in Latin still. But the Slaves of the Orthodox Church have never been constrained to pray in Greek. To this day they keep their national tongue in spiritual matters as well as in temporal.

But the fact that Greek and Latin held a divided dominion in the Eastern lands of Rome, did not merely affect and lessen the area of both languages. It had a marked effect on the Greek language itself. And my subject is strictly the later history of the Greek language itself. The use of Latin in the East concerns me only as it had an effect on the Greek tongue. And a very notable effect it had, and one all the more worthy of notice on account of some remarkable analogies which the history of the Greek tongue in this matter supplies with the history of the English tongue. Greek and English had alike to strive with the same Latin rival. Only, while in the Greek-speaking lands the strife had to be waged only with the parent Latin,[1] in England it had to be waged at once with the parent Latin and with one of its Romance children.

[1] At a later time Greek had to strive with the Romance languages also; but the time with which we are now concerned is that of the earlier Eastern Empire, before the Romance languages had shown themselves.

We have a parallel in the history of our own tongue. There was a day when English was not the only speech of England, when it held a divided dominion with Latin and French. While English was the popular speech, Latin was the learned, and French the polite, speech. English in the end drove out both its rivals. But in the process of driving them out, it was largely affected by both of them. At no time did such a crowd of French words find their way into English as at the time English won its final victory over French in the fourteenth century. So, at a later time, as English more slowly displaced Latin as the language of learning, it took in not a few Latin words that it might well have done without. Very nearly the same was the history of Greek in the Eastern Empire. It had to fight very nearly the same battle with the Latin intruder. There were indeed two important points of difference. Greek, in one form or another, was, everywhere in the East, the literary and polite tongue, and, as the Empire became more and more nearly coextensive with the artificial Greek nation, the popular forms of the Greek tongue became more and more the popular speech of the Empire. Latin, as never being more than the tongue of government and warfare, had a much narrower range in the East-Roman lands than Latin and French together, or even than either of them separately, had in England. But, within that range, Latin had for several centuries a far more exclusive dominion in the Eastern provinces of Rome than Latin and French ever had in England. The Norman simply brought with him some new things and some new names, which made their way into an existing English system. Hence came a nomenclature, partly English, partly French. But the Roman Empire, either when it gradually annexed Greek-speaking provinces or when it moved its seat of rule to a Greek-speaking city, never for a moment thought of speaking Greek. This or that Greek *commune* might speak Greek for the purposes of its communal life; but the Roman Empire, for the purposes of its Imperial life, could not, in any corner of its extent, speak any tongue but Latin. Every official title, every official phrase, belonging to the vast system of Roman government was necessarily as purely Latin by the Bosporos as it had been by the Tiber. It was only gradually that men wakened to the fact that the Empire was

speaking a language which but few of its subjects, perhaps few of its sovereigns, understood. The first glimpses of this discovery came early. But it was some centuries before it wrought its full effect. The great and systematic legislation of Justinian was wholly Latin; but, before his reign was over, he found that, if the mass of his subjects were to understand the laws which he called on them to obey, the Roman Augustus must needs allow his Roman law to be accompanied by a Greek translation for the better enlightenment of the more part of the Roman people.

Now, just as in the case of English with regard to Latin and French, as long as Greek and Latin were used side by side, the influence of Latin upon Greek was not great. Ages after the mass of the Greek-speaking people had come under the power of Rome, they still shrank from borrowing even technical terms from their masters. They may possibly have felt, as we do now, that even Latin proper names have a strange look in Greek letters; certain it is that they preferred to translate the most familiar Latin official terms. Perhaps they did not always translate them very happily; ὕπατος is an odd translation of *consul*, and στρατηγός has a strange effect when it is applied to the *practor urbanus*. In the vulgar dialect of the Eastern provinces, as is shown by the New Testament, Latin words seem to have crept in more freely; still, while one evangelist has κεντυρίων, another has the more elegant ἑκατοντάρχης. In the earlier volumes of the Byzantine series, while the Empire, even in the East, was in fact, as well as in name, a Roman Empire, it is rarely indeed that Latin words find their way into the Greek text. Even John Lydos, when specially treating of the Roman magistracies, seems to struggle with their Latin names; he cannot help bringing them in, but he in a manner apologizes for them, and gives them their Greek translations. The class of writers of the fifth and sixth centuries of whom Prokopios was the head bring in Latin words as seldom as they can, and, when they cannot keep them out, they treat them as foreign words which need a Greek interpreter. It is yet more curious to see the Imperial legislator himself grappling with the necessities of his position, using Greek because he cannot help it, but doing so in an apologetic fashion, bringing in as few Latin words as he can and even keeping them, as far as their declensions will let him, in

the Roman character.[1] Thus far the Greek language is not touched. But let us take a leap to the eighth and ninth centuries. Let us try the later Theophanês. I have gone through the whole of his first volume for the purpose of noting his peculiarities of language. To turn to him from Prokopios and Agathias is an immeasurably greater change than to turn from Thucydides and Xenophôn to Prokopios and Agathias. The language, strictly so called, is still, I maintain, the same. It is still Greek. It is still Attic Greek. In mere Greek constructions, in mere forms of Greek words, the change from the best Attic models is still very slight. The change is in the vocabulary, and there the change is wide indeed. Every page bristles with Latin words, not merely official names for which there was no strict Greek equivalent, but common Latin words used when common Greek words would have done just as well. No doubt it is under the influence of official language that Theophanês says πόρτα when πύλη would have done just as well, just as it is under the influence of official language that our Chronicler speaks of the *pais* of King Henry when he had spoken of the *frið* of King William. Still it is going further to talk about πόρτα than it is to keep the purely official Latin names. When Latin words are used in this way, habitually and without interpretation, it amounts to a real change in language. So with Constantine Porphyrogennêtos. His works *De Thematibus* and *De Administrando Imperio* were the first books of the kind that I ever read, and I well remember my amazement at Greek of which a visible proportion was Latin, while a good many words here

[1] Look for instance at the Novels vii. 1, οὐ τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ τὸν νόμον συνεγράψαμεν, ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ κοινῇ τε καὶ Ἑλλάδι, ὥστε ἅπασιν εἶναι γνώριμον, διὰ τὸ πρόχειρον τῆς ἑρμηνείας. (We hear in this novel of ἡ πρεσβῦτις Ῥώμη). Or again, xiii. 1, ἡ μὲν γὰρ πάτριος φωνὴ *præfectos vigilum* αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσε * * * ἡ δέ γε Ἑλλήνων φωνὴ οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅθεν ἐπάρχους αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσε τῶν νύκτων. xiii. 2, τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ *prætores plebis* προσαγορευέσθωσαν, τῇ δὲ Ἑλλάδι ταύτῃ καὶ κοινῇ πραίτωρες δήμων. He talks of οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι (just like Prokopios), ἡ πρεσβυτέρα Ῥώμη. Some of these are referred to by C. F. Weber, Dissertatio de Latine Scriptis quæ Græci veteres in Linguam suam transtulerunt, Cassel, 1852, ii. 35. Weber's subject is different from mine; but he has collected a great deal that incidentally bears on mine.

Later legislators seem to have been less scrupulous; that is, as Latin went out of use, such Latin words as could not be avoided became part of the Greek language.

and there were Arabic, Slavonic, and what not. But go on to writers a little later. Go on to Leo the Deacon, still more go on to Anna Komnênê and Nikêtas. In these last at least we have got into quite another state of things. We are landed in a *Renaissance*. Anna gives her own character. She is τὸ ἑλληνίζειν ἐς ἄκρον ἐσπουδακυῖα, καὶ ῥητορικῆς οὐκ ἀμελετήτως ἔχουσα καὶ τὰς Ἀριστοτελικὰς τέχνας εὖ ἀναλεξαμένη καὶ τοὺς Πλάτωνος διαλόγους. And truly she does ἑλληνίζειν ἐς ἄκρον. I proved her by a very simple test, that of looking out any words that looked queer in a classical Greek lexicon. One does not think of applying that standard to Theophanês or Constantine. Most of the queer words that they use carry their meaning with them; if they do not, the natural interpreter is the Greek Ducange. But Anna and Nikêtas are full of queer words which are still Greek words. They cannot wholly avoid using technical Latin terms; they cannot help talking about a δούξ and a δομέστικος, as the strongest stickler for Teutonic English cannot help talking about a Duke and a Countess. But they use no Latin word, no foreign word of any kind, that they can keep out. Some of their Greek words look very odd: but I found that nearly every one was in Liddell and Scott. The references, to be sure, in Liddell and Scott were of very various kinds; some to out-of-the-way poets, some to out-of-the-way prose-writers. But I must add, to my shame, that I found Xenophôn and Plato given as references to some words which struck me as worth looking out. In short, the vocabulary of these writers is often strange, but it is thoroughly Greek. But it is Greek of quite another kind from the Greek of Prokopios. It is Hellenic, it is even Attic; but it is Hellenic and Attic of set purpose. Anna thought about her words in a way that we may be sure that neither Xenophôn nor Polybios nor Prokopios nor Theophanês did. In a word, she does ἑλληνίζειν ἐς ἄκρον. We cannot say of the others that they do consciously ἑλληνίζειν at all.

Now where are we to seek for the cause of this remarkable change in two directions? A torrent of Latin words is poured into the Greek tongue, and it presently, so to speak, flows out again. It seems to me that the first of these facts has a near analogy in the history of our own language. The moment when English overcame French was one of the chief moments when

French words poured into English more fiercely than before or after. That so it should be was almost in the nature of things. So it was with Greek. The time when Greek finally overcame Latin as the official language of the Empire was naturally the time when Latin, so to speak, threw off its technical terms upon Greek. Hitherto those who wrote in Greek had done what they could to avoid the use of Latin words. Such words were used in merely formal documents; literary composition tried to do without them and to substitute Greek equivalents. When Latin went out of use as the official language, the Latin names were in a manner turned out of doors, and they sought a home where they could find it. It was impossible wholly to avoid their use, even in literary writings. Presently came a *Renaissance*, not the only one in the history of the Eastern Roman power and its literature. The Empire was becoming more and more truly a Greek power; its extent was becoming more and more nearly co-extensive with the artificial Greek nation. *Roman* was becoming more and more truly a synonym for Greek. Not that the change was accompanied by the slightest conscious revival of Hellenic nationality. But it could not fail to work silently. To the Roman of the East Greek was now his own language, his only language. It was the tongue which distinguished him from the barbarians of the East and of the North, from the rival Roman power of the West, from the Rouman and the Albanian within his own borders, who were now beginning to show themselves as nationalities distinct from his own. At such a time, an attempt to purify language, to get rid of foreign infusions, to call back, as far as might be, the ancient tongue, would seem quite in the nature of things. That it should not be wholly successful was also in the nature of things. The result we see in the Greek of Anna and Nikêtas, a dialect very different certainly from the Greek of Theophanês, but not exactly the Greek of Xenophôn, or even the Greek of Prokopios.

To this *Renaissance* we have nothing answering in the history of the English language. There has been no general reaction since the fourteenth century against the intrusion of Latin and French words. They have kept coming in ever since; at some times they have come in with a greater rush than at others; but the flow has never wholly stopped. This has been because

neither French nor Latin ever became altogether unknown languages in England. Latin long remained the tongue of learned composition; it still remains one of the chief instruments of education. French has always remained the most commonly known among foreign tongues. And, even as an official language in England, it died hard. Its death-blow was struck when under Edward the Third, the law-pleadings began to be in English; but Acts of Parliament were written in French all through the fifteenth century, and it is needless to say that many French traces linger still in our official and legal language. The styles and titles of English offices and institutions are about half native and half foreign. The Teutonic *king* still summons his Romance *parliament*. The Teutonic *sheriff* guards his Romance *county*. Some formal French phrases, as all the world knows, live on in official use to this day. The cry of 'oyez'—heard in America as well as in England, formulas like 'La reine le veult,' are the counterparts of Latin salutations like *βίκτωρ σῆς σέμπερ*, which greeted the ears of the last Roman Emperors of the East.[1] But, while Latin and French lived on in England, both in survivals like these and in other more solid shapes as well, Latin in the East lived on only in such survivals. Nobody thought of writing it for any purpose; very few indeed, if any, would have read or understood it. The Greek-speaking Roman Empire of the East kept

[1] There are few things more curious than the directions given by Constantine in his other work *De Cæremoniis Aulæ Byzantinæ*, (i. 74-77), for the cries, Greek and Latin, with which the Emperor is to be greeted by such and such persons at such and such times, as, for instance, *κονσέρβετ Δέους ἠμπέριουμ βέστρουμ, ὅ ἐστι μεθερμηνευόμενον, φυλάξει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν*. One place is most curious, as showing a distinct misunderstanding of the Latin.

κατὰ δὲ κερασίαν πιόντος τοῦ βασιλέως, λέγουσιν οἱ βουκάλιοι, βήβητε, δόμηνι ἠμπεράτορες, ἠν μούλτος ἄννος. Δέους ὁμνήποτενς πρέστεθ· ὅ ἐστι μεθερμηνεύομενον, πίετε κύριοι βασιλεῖς, ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν· ὁ Θεὸς παντοδύναμος παράσχοι.

We have here got among those with whom

Non aliud est vivere quam bibere.

The beginning of the error is when we see BIXSIT on tombs for VIXIT.

Some of the ecclesiastical ejaculations are yet more amazing.

Ἰωάννες ἐν Ἰορδάνε βαπτίζατ δόμηνουμ· σεκούνδουμ Ἄλλουμ· βύκατ δὲ τὲ βόλο· ἐρμηνεύεται, Ἰωάννης ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτίζει τὸν Κύριον· ἐκ δευτέρου αὐτὸν φωνεῖ, ὑπό σου θέλω βαπτισθῆναι.

It is an odd fate for a Greek word like *βαπτίζειν* to become Latin, and then to come back again with its Latin inflexions in Greek letters. The light that all this throws on pronunciation is valuable. Mark how the Latin accent is kept in words like *ὁμνήποτενς* and *δόμηνουμ*.

on the political traditions of Rome far more thoroughly than the German-speaking Roman Empire of the West. But in the matter of language Aachen was more faithful than Constantinople. The East spoke Greek only: the West, if it spoke German as its natural tongue, could speak Latin also whenever it was called on so to do.

At a yet later stage indeed even written Greek, in some of its forms, began to go through stages more nearly analogous to the later stages of the history of England. As Gaul in the eleventh century, as Italy in the thirteenth, found out that Provençal, French, Italian, had ceased to be mere vulgar dialects of Latin, but had become distinct languages capable of a distinct literature, so, after the Latin Conquest of Constantinople, the Greek-speaking people of the East began to find out that the Greek that they talked had parted so far from the Greek that they wrote that it might itself be written as well as the older literary form. Then arose that mediæval Greek literature, answering to the mediæval literature of the Romance languages, of which I have already spoken. Of that I shall be well pleased to speak more fully some other time. But my present subject is the Byzantine literature, a literature which still at least affects the character of 'classical' Greek. The history of the Byzantine form of Greek, the history to which all that I have thus far said has been tending, may be summed up in a few words. Among the different dialects of spoken Greek in the fourth century B.C., the Attic dialect, as distinct from Doric, Ionic, or Æolic, became the standard of prose. As such, it was written, not only by those whose spoken tongue it was, but by those whose spoken tongues were quite other forms of Greek. The dialect, which thus became for certain purposes the common speech of Greece, naturally lost somewhat of its purity as compared with the speech of those to whom it was not only the tongue of books but the tongue of the fire-side. But it retained Attic in its main forms; it did not adopt the forms of any other of the Greek dialects; and sometimes conscious efforts were made to bring it back to the purity of the native Attic. Thus, in the greater part of the Eastern Roman Empire, Greek, Attic Greek in this sense of the word, remained the tongue of literature and religion, while other forms of Greek were the popular speech, and while Latin was the tongue of government

and warfare. Some technical Latin terms necessarily passed into the literary Greek; about the time when Greek finally supplanted Latin as the official language, they came in by crowds. A conscious *Renaissance* largely drove them out again and produced a style of Greek more consciously imitative than any that had gone before it. Lastly, men found out that popular Greek might be written as well as spoken, and there arose a literature, mediæval Greek or Romaic, as distinguished from Byzantine. The inference is that, though the Byzantine Greek is in a certain sense artificial, yet that it is artificial only in a sense in which a great part of classical Greek is artificial also. It is a form of the Greek language whose peculiarities are due to natural historical causes, and its history forms an integral and essential part of the history of that language. Further, in some points of view, it supplies some instructive analogies to the history of our own tongue.

I have, for the special purposes of this paper, looked through several volumes of the Byzantine writers, some that I knew pretty well before and some that were nearly new to me. In so doing, I marked in each writer such words and phrases as seemed worth notice on any ground. Some of these are most important historically, specially those which throw light on the way in which these writers speak of the Empire to which they belonged, of its princes, of other nations and of their princes. Of these I should be well pleased to say something in another paper, perhaps with a special reference to some of the views of M. Sathas. This present paper, which has language strictly so called for its subject, may be best wound up with some fuller notice of the results of such an examination as I speak of with regard to the use of words, especially to the use of Latin and other strange words. The writers of the fifth century, though they appear in the Byzantine series, are hardly late enough for this purpose. I will begin with some notes I have on Prokopios, a writer who had older Greek models, and specially Thucydides, before his eyes, one who is really in spirit an 'ancient' rather than a Byzantine writer, but who for that very reason is the more useful as showing how such an one was affected by the circumstances of the time.

Prokopios then, writing the history of an Empire whose

official language was Latin and all whose officers bore Latin names, cannot wholly avoid using Latin official terms. But he brings them in as foreign words, with a Greek explanation. Thus in vol. i. p. 121[1] he has occasion to mention a *quæstor*. That officer appears as *βασιλεῖ πάρεδρος, κοιαίστωρα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι*. In p. 154 he lights on one of those Latin words which came into the English tongue before any part of Britain became England, and which the Greek tongue had to adopt as well as the English. He comes to a place on the Persian frontier called *Strata*. Its name, it was argued, proved it to be a lawful possession of the Roman Empire. *Ἀρέθας οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι τὸν χῶρον, τῷ τε ὀνόματι τεκμηριούμενος, οὗ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ἄνωθεν ἔτυχε, Στράτα γὰρ ἡ ἐστρωμένη ὁδὸς τῇ Λατίνων καλεῖται φωνῇ*. If we turn to the Greek Ducange, we shall find that this word *στράτα*, our *street*, had an abiding life, alongside of its fellow *κάστρον*, our *chester*. In p. 243 another official name is explained. We find a certain Adolios, *βασιλεῖ μὲν ἀεὶ ἐν παλατίῳ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὑπηρετοῦντα, σιλεντιαρίους Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν οἷς ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη ἐπίκειται*. Some very classically minded persons might object to *silentiarius*; but it is to be noticed that Prokopios, while seemingly straining at *σιλεντιάριος*, adopts *παλάτιον* as Greek. For this we shall presently see the reason. So again in p. 256 we get a rather long description of the official duties of a certain Theodore, with the addition *ῥαιφερενδάριον*[2] *τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι*. In p. 310 we have a case in which we are tempted to think that our author's Latin has broken down. There is a place of which he tells us *Σεπτὸν καλοῦσι τὸ ἐκείνῃ φρούριον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, λόφων τινῶν ἑπτὰ φαινομένων ἐνταῦθα· τὸ γὰρ σέπτον ἑπτὰ τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται*. In p. 381 Belisarius has a certain John, *ὃς οἱ ἐπεμελεῖτο τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δαπάνης· ὀπτίωνα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ρωμαῖοι*. In. p. 415 *τὸ σημεῖον, ὃ δὴ βάνδον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι*. And in the Greek Ducange will be found several references to *βάνδον* as a Latin word, some of them in

[1] I refer to the volume and page of the Bonn edition. References to the chapters in Prokopios often cause needless trouble, on account of the great length of the chapters.

[2] This spelling is very important. Prokopios can hardly have lighted on such a Latin spelling as *referendarius*. It is plain that ε and αι had already the same sound, as we so often see in epitaphs KITE for *κεῖται*.

writers earlier than Prokopios, though I doubt if the word *landum* is found in literary Latin so early.[1] In p. 423 the Roman army enters Carthage, *μεσοῦντος μάλιστα τοῦ τελευταίου μηνὸς, ὃν Δεκέμβριον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι.* Presently we get the history of a Latin word of some ecclesiastical importance, but to which classical Latin dictionaries do not give the meaning in which Prokopios quotes it. In p. 521 we have the story of the treacherous murder of Areobindus; but the only point which now concerns us is that the victim is persuaded to follow the bishop Reparatus, *ἱμάτιον ἀμπεχόμενος οὔτε στρατηγῷ οὔτε ἄλλῳ στρατευομένῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον, ἀλλὰ δούλῳ ἢ ἰδιώτῃ παντάπασι πρέπον, κασοῦλαν αὐτὸ τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.*

In these passages I think we may notice a certain difference between the use of the words *Latin* and *Roman*. *Latin* is confined to language. The *Romans* call a thing so and so in *Latin*. That is, they called it so in the official language of the Empire; but Prokopios, and a vast number of other Romans, called it in their ordinary speech by another name, that is, by its Greek name. When he is driven to use a Greek word which was in familiar daily use, but which offended his standard of Greek purity, he uses another formula. He thus (p. 520) describes a monastery; *ἔστι δέ τις ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου Καρχηδόνος νεὼς πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀκτῇ, οὗ δὴ ἄνδρες οἰκοῦσιν, οἷς τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀκριβῶς ἤσκηται· μοναχοὺς καλεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀεὶ νενομίκαμεν.* This outside way of looking at monks in a day when they played so important a part almost reminds us of the wicked passage of the pagan Eunapios about them (p. 82, ed Bonn). Prokopios commonly shrinks from using ecclesiastical terms; but Eunapios, while speaking of *οἱ καλούμενοι μοναχοι*, uses *ἐπίσκοπος* without explanation.

It is only a few very familiar Latin words that Prokopios

[1] The use of *bandus* is illustrated by a passage of Stephanos of Byzantium, which is a beautiful case of heaping blunder on blunder. He is explaining the name *Alabanda*. *κτίσμα Καρὸς ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσα τοῦ γενηθέντος ἀπὸ* Καλλιρόης *τῆς* Μαιάνδρου, *μετὰ νίκην ἱππομαχικὴν, καὶ κληθέντος Ἀλαβάνδου, ὅ ἐστι κατὰ τὴν Καρῶν φωνὴν ἱππονίκος· ἄλα γὰρ τὸν ἵππον, βάνδα δὲ τὴν νίκην καλοῦσιν, ἔνθεν καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις βάνδον τὴν νίκην φασίν.* (Such Romans, one would think, must, like some people in Herodotus, have sacrificed to a Karian Jupiter). But after all Stephanos is not so bad as the modern philologer who found Teutonic *lady* and Romance *dame* in some scrap of Lykian, Karian, or Alarodian.

uses without explanation. One is *πατρίκιος*; I have mentioned *παλάτιον*; but this last he fancied to be of Greek origin. In i. 395 we have the mention of a place called Delphica, on which he thus comments:

Δέλφικα τὸν τόπον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐ τῇ σφετέρα γλώσσῃ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἑλληνίζοντες. ἐν παλατίῳ γὰρ τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἔνθα ξυνέβαινε στιβάδας τὰς βασιλέως εἶναι, τρίπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ εἱστήκει, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ τὰς κύλικας οἱ βασιλέως οἰνοχόοι ἐτιθέντο. Δέλφικα δὲ τὸν τρίποδα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἐν Δελφοῖς γέγονε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ ὅπη βασιλέως εἶναι στιβάδα ξυμβαίνει Δέλφικα τοῦτο καλοῦσι τὸ οἴκημα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βασιλέως οἰκία παλάτιον ἑλληνίζοντες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. Πάλλαντος γὰρ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ οἰκήσαντος πρὸ Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως, οἰκίαν τε λόγου ἀξίαν ἐνταῦθα δειμαμένου, παλάτιον μὲν τὸ οἴκημα τοῦτο ἐκάλουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα παραλαβὼν ἀρχὴν Αὔγουστος ἐνταῦθα καταλύειν τὸ πρῶτον ἔγνω, παλάτιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον οὗ ἂν βασιλεὺς καταλύοι.

Almost more singular is another passage (445) describing the triumph, or rather ovation, of Belisarius after the Vandal war. He tells us what the Romans did on such occasions *ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις*, and adds that the new hero, *τὰ λάφυρα ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀνδράποδα ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐπόμπευσεν, ὅν δὴ θρίαμβον ἐκάλουν Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐ τῷ παλαιῷ μέντοι τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ πεζῇ βαδίζων ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἄχρι ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον.* Here we have *ἐκάλουν* instead of *καλοῦσι*, for he is not speaking of the *Ῥωμαῖοι* of his own day, who were unused to the ceremony, but of those whom he is fond of speaking of as *οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι, οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι*. But this time he does not mention the Latin tongue, for it is a Greek word that he puts into the mouth of his old Romans. *Θρίαμβος* is so like *triumphus*, it had come to be used so thoroughly as the equivalent of *triumphus*,[1] the word is so rare in other use, that Prokopios thought that this time *θρίαμβος* would do, and

[1] Whence the *h*? The real Latin is *triumpus*, as Cicero witnesses (Orator, 48). He used to spell it *triumpus*, but changed his spelling because he heard everybody say *triumphus*. Why did they take the trouble? for I suppose he means *phus* and not *fus*, quite another sound. Then what is *triumphus*? Is it, as some think, only *θρίαμβος* after all? How then did a Greek word get into Latin so early? But I am concerned only with the fact that Prokopios so strongly identified *θρίαμβος* and *triumphus* that he could put the Greek word into Old-Roman mouths.

that there was no need to vex himself by writing so ugly a combination of letters as *τριοῦμφος*.

Prokopios, as I before said, is essentially an 'ancient' in speech and feeling. He is not a pagan, but he is hardly a Christian. His creed (see vol. ii. p. 17) does not get far beyond a strong monotheism. It is a strange leap from him to a purely Byzantine writer like Theophanês, not a mere ecclesiastical writer, but one who wrote general history as it was likely to be written by one who suffered for the orthodoxy of his day, and who became in the end a canonized saint. He, as we might expect, has no scruple about ecclesiastical words or about Latin words; he even sometimes points the way to Romaic. If (in p. 548 of the first volume) the Imperial cavalry appear as *οἱ τοῦ καβαλλαρικοῦ*, some way further on (p. 596) we find *ἄλογον* used, still in a more general sense than that of *equus* or *caballus*, but clearly on the road towards it. Turning a few pages, we find *μονῆτα* (559), *κουρκουρόν* (560), *σακελλάριος* (566), *ῥεγεών* (565), *Καρθαγένη* for *Καρχηδών* (567),[1] *μεγιστᾶνες* and *κάστρον* (570), *πόρτα* (573), *φουρκίζω* (574), *νοτάριος* (575), *τοῦλδον* (577), *ὀφφίκιον* (578), *καστέλλιον* (585), *κουρσεύω* (588) *κιτατόριν* (589), *τάξατοι* and *τουρμάρχης* (597), *φαμιλία* (598), *πατερικά* (689), in the sense of *patristic*, *μοναχικὰ καὶ πατερικὰ βιβλία*, *νωβελίσσιμος* (696), *ὔπεραι* (680). Stranger still is it when *a secretis* becomes a noun *ἀσηκρῆτις* (682), which sometimes forms to itself an accusative *ἀσηκρῆτιν*. But more valuable than all is the form *φυδεράτοι* for *foederati*, in p. 387. This form gives us real help in the history of pronunciation as well as of language. The word, which is found even in Prokopios, is commonly written *φοιδεράτοι*. But the spelling used by Theophanês helps along with some other evidence to show that in the ninth century, though *η*, *ι*, *ει*, were already sounded alike, yet *υ* and *οι* had still a distinct sound, which they lost in the tenth. Liudprand confounds them all. But both here and in the Greek inscription of the Bulgarian king Omortag (Jireček

[1] It might be worth inquiring whether *Καρχηδών*, as the name of the Roman colony, was ever anything more than a piece of fine writing, like calling Dyrrhachion *Ἐπίδαμνος*. I have to thank Mr. Bywater for sending me to a passage of Eusebios (Hist. Eccl. x. 6) where a letter of Constantine the Great begins, *Κωνσταντῖνος Αὔγουστος Καικιλιανῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ Καρταγένης*. Long afterwards Nikephoros of Constantinople (84) has in a manner to define *Καρχηδών—ἡ ὑπ' Ἀφρικὴν Καρχηδὼν πρφην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις τελοῦσα*—would his readers have better understood him if he had said *Καρταγένη*?

Geschichte der Bulgaren, p. 148), while the other letters are confounded, οἶκος is throughout spelled υκος. That is to say, υ and οι were then not sounded like η, but had a distinct sound of their own. This sound could hardly have been any other than the German ü, the sound still given to υ in some local Greek dialects.

Now of these words used by Theophanês the greater number are Latin; one or two are what we may call odd Greek. Μεγιστᾶνες, for instance, I should set down as odd Greek, though I am aware that it may in some sort claim to be classical. It is the kind of word that would hardly come naturally into anybody's head. But all these words, I should think, carry their own meaning with them, except perhaps τοῦλδον. It means *baggage*, and it is a good deal older than Theophanês' day, being used by the Emperor Maurice. Ducange has something to say about it both in his Greek and in his Latin Glossary. He says that it is not found in any mediæval Latin writer, but that it exists in the Old-French *toudis*. Here really would seem to be a case of a word, which, whatever may be its origin, must sometime have existed in spoken Latin, which never found its way into any written Latin, but which did find its way into official Byzantine Greek, and which also lived on in French, though from later French it seems to have passed away. Once adopted into Greek, τοῦλδον or any word received the power of putting out Greek derivatives like τουλδοφύλαξ. So did the root, whatever it may be, of the verb μαγαρίζω, which means to turn Mussulman. Σαρακηνόφρων is no bad formation to describe those who answer to the *medizers* of an earlier time, and verbs like γλωσσοκοπέω and ῥινοκοπέω were called for by the later needs of the Empire. Of these I find the word which refers to the nose in Liddell and Scott, but not that which refers to the tongue.

The imperial pages of Constantine Porphyrogennêtos are, if anything, more crowded with Latin and other foreign words than those of Theophanês himself. In turning over a few pages only, we light on κάστρον, παῖδα, φλάμουλα, κάμπος, βιγλοί, (vigiles), βήσαλα (laterculi bessales), φοσσάτον, φοσσατικῶς, σαγίττα, πόρτα — ἤνοιξαν τὰς πόρτας, where surely it would have been just as easy, at any stage of the language, to say πύλας. *Caballus* again, the future parent of *cavalry* and *chivalry*, has produced some curious derivatives, but ἵππος still keeps his place, if threatened both by *caballus* and

by *ἄλογον*. Thus the Fatimites (iii. 92) *οὐ καβαλλικεύουσιν ἵππους ἀλλὰ καμήλους*, and certain places east of the Euxine (iii. 269) *ἀπέχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁδὸν ἰδιοκαβάλλου ἡμέρας μιᾶς*. Besides these Latin intruders, there are also Slavonic and other strange words not a few. More remarkable are the passages where Constantine distinctly deals with questions of language. It is perfectly plain when we read (iii. 125) of *τόπος λεγομένος Τζιβιτὰ νόβα, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται Νεόκαστρον*. To be sure the Emperor's Greek is half Latin; still it is into Greek that he means to translate the Latin. And we learn by the way that *c* in Latin and *τζ* in Greek—somewhat Slavonized Greek—had the same sound. Was this sound *ts* or *tsh*? We learn also that in vulgar speech the *s* of *civitas* was dropped, like the *m* in the famous lines on the seizure of the Emperor Lewis where *civitas* keeps its *s*.[1] It is a trifle more puzzling, to read (iii. 152), *Σέρβλοι τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ δοῦλοι προσαγορεύονται, ὅθεν καὶ σέρβουλα ἡ κοινὴ συνήθεια τὰ δουλικῶς φησὶν ὑποδήματα, καὶ τζερβουλιανοὺς τοὺς τὰ εὐτελῆ καὶ πενιχρὰ ὑποδήματα φοροῦντας. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχον οἱ Σέρβλοι διὰ τὸ δοῦλοι γενέσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων*. The etymology is amazing[2]; and it may be well to explain that *δοῦλοι* need not have any worse meaning than *subjects*. Anyhow here it seems that *ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτος* can mean only Latin. One is less clear when one reads in iii. 136:

ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ῥαουσίου οὐ καλεῖται Ῥαούση τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ, ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ ἐπάνω τῶν κρημνῶν ἵσταται, λέγεται δὲ Ῥωμαϊστί ὁ κρημνὸς λαῦ, ἐκλήθησαν ἐκ τούτου Λαυσαῖοι ἤγουν οἱ καθεζόμενοι εἰς τὸν κρημνόν. ἡ δὲ κοινὴ συνήθεια, ἡ πολλάκις μεταφθείρουσα τὰ ὀνόματα τῇ ἐναλλαγῇ τῶν γραμμάτων, μεταβαλοῦσα τὴν κλῆσιν Ῥαουσαίους τούτους ἐκάλεσεν.

[1] Audite, omnes fines terræ, orrore cum tristitia,
Quale scelus fuit factum Benevento civitas
Hludowicum comprenderunt, sancto, pio, Augusto.

[2] My Servian and other Slavonic friends must be greatly displeased at this bit of derivation. Some of them wish me to change my spelling of the name of their race, *Slave*, as I have spelled it from my youth up, and would have me take to the ugly fashion of the newspapers, *Slav*. Yet I cleave to *Slave*, if only to show, not that Σκλάβοι or Σέρβλοι were necessarily *servi* or δοῦλοι, but that *servi* or δοῦλοι came to be called *slaves* in Latin, Greek, Teutonic, and Arabic, because they were largely Σκλάβοι.

Ducange throws no further light on the question of shoes. The change from *σ* to *τζ* is strange anyhow.

Now what language is λαῦ? I cannot find the word anywhere else, or in any dictionary that I have; but as it certainly comes nearer to a λᾶας ἀναιδὴς than it does to a *lapis angularis*, one is led to think that Ῥωμαϊστί and ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτος must here mean Greek. Greek was now, in Constantine's sense, the 'dialect of the Romans.' From other parts of his writings one might even have inferred that he was far too good a Christian willingly to call the tongue of himself or his Empire by any name formed from such a pagan word as Ἕλλην. But he cannot help bringing in one of the derivatives of the pagan word in a very remarkable passage where he distinctly records the substitution of Greek for Latin as the official language (iii. 13, De Thematibus I.). The later Emperors, after the Empire was cut short, abode

Ἑλληνίζοντες καὶ τὴν πάτριον καὶ Ῥωμαϊκὴν γλῶτταν ἀποβαλόντες. λογγίνους γὰρ ἔλεγον τοὺς χιλιάρχους καὶ κεντουρίωνας τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχους καὶ κόμητας τοὺς νῦν στρατηγούς· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θέματος Ἑλληνικόν ἐστι καὶ οὐ Ῥωμαϊκὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς θεσεως ὀνομαζόμενον.

The λογγῖνοι open some questions of language,[1] and but for the νῦν happily attached to the counts who were turned into στρατηγοί, it would have been hardly clear which way the change was made. Here it is plain that ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ γλῶττα is Latin; but this use is perhaps only because of the distinct opposition to Greek, and it may prove nothing against the more common use of Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτος to mean Greek. Anyhow Constantine's knowledge of Latin must have been but small. Take the passage (iii. 129, cf. 163) where he is speaking of the Slaves on the Narenta, whose land, from their obstinate cleaving to heathendom, got the name of Pagania.

οἱ δὲ Παγανοί, οἱ καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ Ἀρεντανοὶ καλούμενοι, εἰς δυσβάτους τόπους καὶ κρημνώδεις κατελείφθησαν ἀβάπτιστοι· καὶ γὰρ Παγανοὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Σκλάβων γλῶσσαν ἀβάπτιστοι ἑρμηνεύονται.

Here again Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτος most likely means Greek: but the Emperor of the Romans would seem to have thought that the plain Latin word *paganus* was *Slavonic*. And in p. 139 we

[1] The λογγῖνοι are said to be the same as λογγάρχαι. The derivation seems to fluctuate between λόχος and λόγγος. This last, which is explained as equivalent to κλεισοῦρα, seems to be the same word which we meet in Μεσολόγγι. My modern Greek dictionary does not acknowledge it.

stumble on a more wonderful passage than all. He is describing the city of Diadôra, Jadera, Zara.

τὸ κάστρον τῶν Διαδώρων καλεῖται τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἰὰμ ἔρατ, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται ἀπάρτι ἦτον· δηλονότι ὅτε ἡ Ῥώμη ἐκτίσθη, προεκτισμένον ἦν τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον.

It is hard to see in what language Diadôra can mean *jam erat* or *ἀπάρτι ἦτον*. But *jam erat* is plainly Latin and not Greek; so this time the *Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτος* must be Latin. In his *ἀπάρτι ἦτον*, Constantine stumbles into distinct modern Greek —Romaic in the later sense. So he does now and then in other places, but always, I think, when he is translating some name or phrase; in such cases he may have thought it better to use whatever words were most common and best understood. Thus in iii. 77, we read of a place, *λεγόμενον μὲν Ῥωσιστὶ* [which should mean Scandinavian] *Λεάντι, Σκλαβινιστὶ δὲ Βερουτζη, ὅ ἐστι βράσμα νεροῦ*; and in iii. 177, we hear of Sarkel, the fortress of the Chazars, *ἑρμηνεύεται παρὰ αὐτοῖς τὸ Σάρκελ ἄσπρον ὁσπίτιον*. In the first of these explanations we get the newest, and one would think the oldest, Greek name for water, suggesting the *ἅλιος γέρων* who ruled that element before Poseidôn.[1] In the second we get two remarkable words of the modern language. *Ἄσπρος* has displaced *λευκός*, very much as in most Romance languages Teutonic *blanch* has displaced *albus*. So, strange to say, in later Greek, Latin *hospitium*, the *ὁσπίτιον* of Constantine, the *σπίτι* of the language of to-day, has wholly displaced *οἶκος*. After all this, it is a small matter when we are taken (iii. 137) to Spalato, to hear of *τὸ Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρον, ὅπερ παλάτιον μικρὸν ἑρμηνεύεται*. I am now fully convinced that the name Aspalathon —in its endless spellings—has nothing whatever to do with *palatium*; but in what dialect either of Romans or of other men could it ever have been thought that *Ἀσπάλαθον* meant *παλάτιον μικρόν*?

We have just had glimpses to show that an Emperor of the tenth century spoke one kind of Greek and wrote another, two kinds of Greek which the classical purist will doubtless pronounce to be equally bad. But from his barbarous speech let us pass to the elegant and refined tongue of an illustrious lady a century and a half later, daughter of an Emperor, wife of a

[1] I suppose it is a true etymology which connects *νερό* with *Νηρεύς*. Anyhow *νερό* has quite routed *ὕδωρ*.

Cæsar, whose chief glory was ἑλληνίζειν ἐς ἄκρον. Constantine, we may be sure, whether he was talking about νερό or writing about πόρτα, talked and wrote with the humble object of being understood. One cannot help suspecting the writers of the twelfth century *Renaissance* of writing with a more distinct wish to be thought fine. As I before said, Anna and Nikêtas use as few Latin words as they can, and most of their Greek words are to be found in Liddell and Scott. But they are always using words which could never have been the first words that came into their heads. Theophanês and Constantine, though they wrote in a way which was different from the way in which they talked, still wrote in a way in which it was perfectly natural for them to write. But Anna and Nikêtas write in a way which must always have been artificial. Surely it cost no small effort to write such a sentence as this, near the beginning of the Alexiad (i. 14). πολλὰς δὲ ταλαντεύσεις λαβούσης τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῶν Τούρκων καθυπερτερησάντων τῆς τύχης Ῥωμαίων, τῶν δὲ ἐς τὸ κατόπιν ὑπαχθέντων, ὥσπερ ψάμμου ποδῶν ὑποσπασθείσης, τηνικαῦτα καὶ οὗτος τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέθετο. So writes the august lady—ἡ κυρία Ἄννα ἡ πορφυρογέννητος ἡ βασίλισσα. Now I have got so used to Greek of all kinds that I suspect that I sometimes fail to notice niceties which are clear to those who work at one kind of Greek only, and which were perhaps clearer to myself forty years ago. But somehow the imperial princess strikes me as not quite correct in her use of the article. Still, as far as her choice of words is concerned, she does, according to her own boast, ἑλληνίζειν ἐς ἄκρον. One doubts whether Theophanês or Constantine could have put together so many words without bringing in some for which, if an interpreter were needed, Ducange would be the interpreter. But every word used by Anna is acknowledged by Liddell and Scott: only some of them are words which would hardly have been the first to come into anybody's head, either in the fourth century B.C. or in the twelfth century A.D. And so it goes on. When Anna cannot help using a Latin word, she balances it—may we say that she ταλάντευσιν λαμβάνει?—by some extra fine piece of Greek. Nikêphoros Bryennios is made Duke of Dyrrhachion—a city which Anna commonly calls Epidamnos, but which was already *Durazzum* and tending to be *Durazzo*. According to his admiring wife (i. 2:), he was τὴν δουκικὴν περιεζωσμένος ἀρχὴν Δυῤῥαχίου

Does Robert Wiscard make himself Duke of Apulia? (i. 50), *ἐν βραχεῖ πρὸς τὴν δουκικὴν περιωπὴν ἀναβεβηκὼς, δοὺξ Λογγιβαρδίας ἁπάσης ὠνομάζετο.* Nikétas, about a hundred years later, is, if anything, grander than Anna; but again Liddell and Scott acknowledge nearly all his words. I looked out all the odd-looking Greek words through a good many pages, and there was only one that I failed to find. When certain valiant men are (i. 46) described as *τολμητίαι καὶ ἀνδρισταί*, the meaning is plain enough, but the dictionary does not admit the second word. But when it comes to λίζιος = *ligius, liegeman*, it is needless to look for that. We see in such a word as this the signs of a coming change. Latin words look back; Romance words look forward. Κάμπος and *πόρτα* are memorials of a day when the Emperor of the Romans still spoke, in formal speech at least, the tongue of the Old Rome. Λιζιος is a sign that the Greek-speaking Emperor of the Romans is about to pass away from the New Rome, and that the Romance-speaking Emperor of Romania is about to take his place.

We have thus reached the time when, in the thorough break-up of the Greek-speaking Roman Empire, men found at last that the vulgar tongue might be written, as men had already found out in Provence, France, and Italy. From that time the linguistic phænomena of East and West—of the Greek-speaking lands and of the Romance-speaking lands—become far more alike. But on the history of mediæval and modern, as distinguished from Byzantine Greek, I will not enter. No Dante arose to make it immortal. Still it is a language which came, like any other, in the natural course of things, more truly in the natural course of things than the high-polite Greek of Byzantine and Thessalonian scholars. And I hold that, fifty years back, it would have been wiser and more patriotic to stick to the spoken tongue, to develope its resources, to claim for it a place alongside of the other tongues of Europe, than to try, as men have from that time onwards tried, to restore a form of the language which cannot be restored. The Greek of Theophanês and the Greek of a kleftic song have both come naturally. They are forms of the language which have unconsciously grown up under the influence of historical circumstances. I claim for them to be looked on as necessary parts of the thorough study of the Greek language. But the dialect of a modern Greek newspaper is purely artificial. It tries to be something which

it cannot be. No fair person will blame either the Byzantine chronicler for writing as it was natural for him to write, or the kleftic minstrel for singing as it was natural for him to sing. But polite modern Greek comes just near enough to the older forms of the language to make us feel uncomfortable whenever it departs from them. The others are natural writing or natural talk, which has the same right to be itself as English or French has to be itself. It would be as unreasonable to blame the tongue either of the kleft or the chronicler, for not being exactly the tongue of the fourth century B.C. as it would be to blame modern English for not being Old-English, or French for not being Latin. But the written modern Greek is in truth a Greek exercise, and a Greek exercise in which there are many faults. If my classical friends want victims, here they are; I will not—in point of language—defend them. But I must claim for the unbroken succession of later Greek writers their place in the history of the Greek language, and thereby in the general history of language. I must deny that either Polybios or Theophanês wrote 'bad Greek,' simply because they wrote such Greek as was natural for them to write. The charge of writing 'bad Greek' belongs far more truly to those who, either in the twelfth century or in the nineteenth, have tried to write very good Greek than to those in the ninth and tenth who hardly thought about writing good Greek at all.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 38, line 13, *for* 'there miles,' *read* 'three miles.'
,, 39, ,, 14, *for* 'in a throne,' *read* 'on a throne.'
,, 98, ,, 23, *for* 'Praxiteles,' *read* 'Pasiteles.'

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